

JAHANGIR'S

FEBRUARY '21

WORLD TIMES

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- The End of Brexit Saga
- KSA-Qatar Reconciliation
- Pakistan's Covid-19 Success
- Pak-US Relations under Joe Biden
- Demographic Changes In Kashmir
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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Surah-20 Ta Ha' Ayat 6. To Him belongs what is in the heavens and on earth, and all between them, and all beneath the soil.

Pak-US Relations under Joe Biden

On January 20, the 46th President of the United States, Joseph Robinette Biden Jr., entered the Oval Office at a time when his country is faced with numerous gigantic challenges. Polarization in the American society, the ruins left by his predecessor, Donald J. Trump, during his four tumultuous years in the White House, fractured relations with America's traditional allies, e.g. the European Union, and American wars in various parts of the world, especially Afghanistan, are some of the formidable challenges a President Biden will have to surmount. Nevertheless, he is poised to take the bull by the horns as his 17 Executive Orders, issued on the very first day of his presidency, bode well for the future. However, the most important matter that will test his political acumen is, indubitably, Afghanistan. Despite spending trillions of dollars in this long-drawn-out war, Americans have failed to get any substantial result to sell to American voters. His policies and actions in this context will not only determine the future of this country but also that of the whole South Asian region, and the world for that matter.

Afghanistan has been a festering wound for the Americans as they have exhausted all their options and only negotiations with the mighty Taliban are the only way out for them. Sensing the criticality of the situation, Biden's predecessor made all-out efforts to conclude a peace settlement in the war-ravaged Afghanistan. Although he successfully concluded a peace agreement with the Taliban, which was signed on February 29, 2020, in Doha, Qatar, the process of Intra-Afghan talks it envisaged is still off the track. The Doha agreement laid out a 14-month period for the withdrawal of "all military forces of the United States, its allies, and Coalition partners, including all non-diplomatic civilian personnel, private security contractors, trainers, advisors, and supporting services personnel." In return, the Taliban agreed to not allow extremists to operate from Afghanistan, give some security guarantees and to participate in peace talks with the Afghan government. But, intransigence on the part of current political dispensation in Afghanistan, shenanigans by India — a strategic partner of the United States in this part of the world — and many other factors led to an inordinate delay in these peace talks. To add fuel to the fire of uncertainty, the Biden administration has announced to review this deal. President Biden's National Security Adviser, Jake Sullivan, told his Afghan counterpart Hamdullah Mohib, in a phone call that to the US will assess whether the Taliban is delivering on its commitments to cut ties with terror groups and reduce violence in Afghanistan. Mr Sullivan "underscored that the US will support the peace process with a robust and regional diplomatic effort, which will aim to help the two sides achieve a durable and just political settlement and permanent ceasefire." It means that while there is scant domestic support for a continued American intervention in Afghanistan, Biden will hesitate to leave Afghanistan if ongoing violence has not abated in the country, and till there is some roadmap for the political future of the country.

There is no denying the fact that the said peace deal became a reality only with the active support and constructive role of Pakistan. So, Afghanistan will be a key determinant of the future trajectory of Pak-US relations. In the words of Dr Daniel Markey, a Senior Research Professor at SAIS Johns Hopkins University, "This is Biden who during the Obama administration frequently made the point that Pakistan more than Afghanistan should be Washington's principal strategic focus in the region." Given the fact that President Biden is familiar with Pakistan and the region, and also that he enjoys close relations with those in the corridors of power in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, it is highly likely that he will try to begin a new chapter in relations with Pakistan.

Another determinant of Pak-US relations will be the way how American treats India and Pakistan. The United States indeed has significant economic and strategic convergence with India, a much larger country than Pakistan. The US also sees India as a potential counterweight to China and the Biden administration will continue cooperating with India to contend with the growing presence of China in the region. Moreover, Biden himself has been a vocal proponent of friendly ties with India and is a familiar face in New Delhi since his days as vice-president under President Barack Obama.

But, it is also true that today's India is not the one Biden can be tolerant to. It is an India that's now being called out for its fascism, for its approach towards exclusion of millions of people, for its cruelty in disputed territories such as Kashmir by the western press, by the US Congress, and by the British parliament. It is a country that has a conflict with every neighbour and has become a liability. And, in the words of Special Assistant to the Prime Minister on National Security and Strategic Planning Dr Moeed Yusuf, "This opens a real opportunity for Pakistan and the incoming administration in the US to have a conversation where we have a truly bilateral relationship." The appointment of two Kashmiris to the Biden administration also conveyed a message that human rights abuses in occupied Kashmir need to be addressed, but we must remember that the United States, despite its unconditional loyalty, has never been able to help Pakistan in difficult times and should not expect more in the future. While there has been mild criticism of India from Team Biden vis-à-vis New Delhi's actions in India-held Kashmir, Pakistan must remain vigilant and realistic, as the new American administration is unlikely to take India to task for its brutal treatment of Kashmiris. Also, it should be remembered that Donald Trump had offered to help resolve the Kashmir issue; this offer did not succeed primarily due to Indian stubbornness over the issue.

To ensure that the relationship with the Biden White House is a mutually beneficial, Islamabad will have to be proactive in projecting Pakistan's interests and clearly communicating this country's point of view to those that matter in Washington. Efforts are required to make the relationship less transactional. Washington, too, should broaden its perspective where Pakistan is concerned and looking beyond the so-called Afghan lens. In fine, genuine efforts are required from both sides to further develop positions on points where both sides have a common viewpoint, and handle differences carefully through diplomatic channels. A peaceful, prosperous South Asia is in the interest of all and is the reason why the US should keep Pakistan's concerns in mind while developing regional policies.



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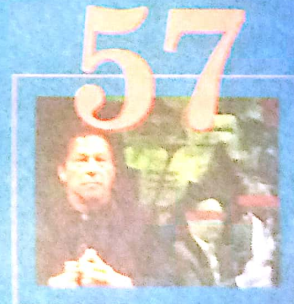
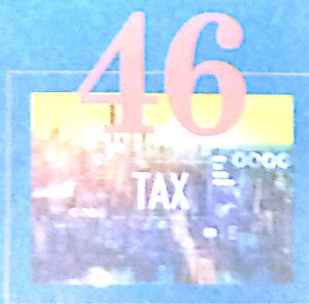
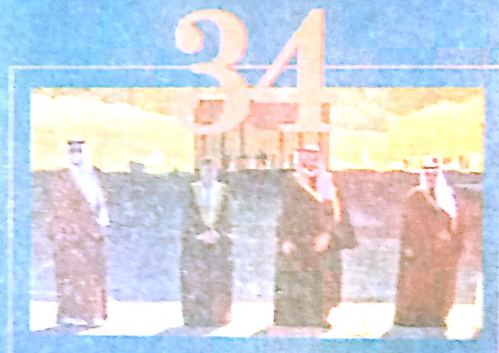
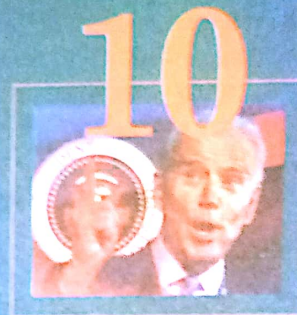
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On Page no. 12 of January issue, total of Donald Trump's written words was mistakenly printed as 699. It was actually 724. The error is regretted.

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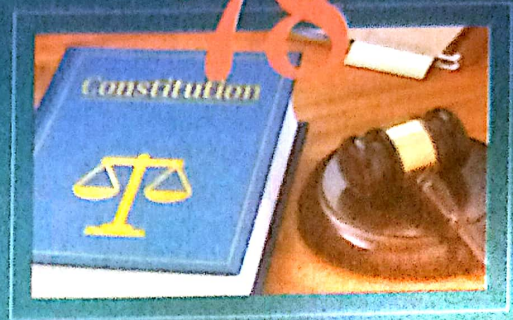
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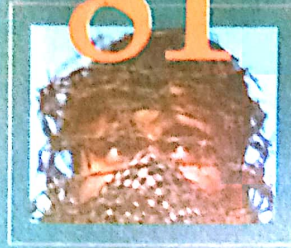
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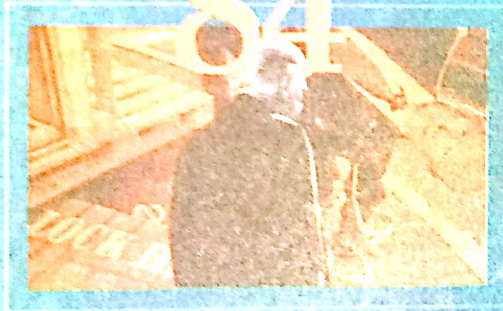
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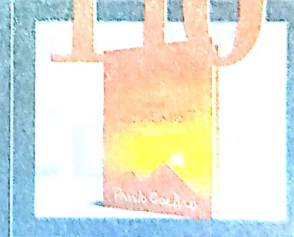
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INTERVIEWS

A Rising IT Industry

Rthe IT sector in Pakistan's economy has seen unrivalled growth in 2020. The Information Telecommunication (IT) and IT-enabled Services (ITeS) export remittances comprising computers, and call centre services surged to \$958 million for the first half of 2020, which amounts to a growth of a whopping 40 percent. Compare this to last year, where in the same period, the exports amounted to a mere \$684 million. The country's total export of services stood at \$2.844bn in the first half of FY21 as compared to \$2.835bn in the corresponding period last year—these statistics show that a big reason behind the increase in exports has been the telecommunication and information technology sector. These statistics show that this industry is working well, and its scope will only increase in the future; thus efforts by the government to expand the industry should be continued. It is a welcome development and the government must work with full vigour to capitalize on this great success.

Tooba Khan
Charsadda

Farmers' Protests in India

For more than three months now, Indian farmers have been camped on the outskirts of New Delhi in protest against new agricultural legislation. On 26th January — India's Republic day — thousands of them rampaged through New Delhi, the country's capital, in a dramatic escalation of their standoff with the government. They are up in arms with the government for its contentious laws passed in September last year. These laws enable farmers to sell their produce to any buyer they chose, rather than to commission agents at state-controlled markets. These markets were set up in the 1950s to stop the exploitation of farmers and pay a minimum support price (MSP) for certain produce. The system has led to farmers sometimes growing crops unsuited to the local climate, such as thirsty rice in Punjab, and can be fertile ground for corruption. But most farmers see the MSP as a vital safety net, and fear being unable to compete with large farms and being paid low prices by big corporations. Modi has billed the laws as necessary to modernize Indian farming. But, now the Indian premier has a formidable foe in the well-organised farmers who have been camped outside New Delhi since late November despite chilly winter nights. There they have set up schools for children, their own newspaper, social media teams, food kitchens, medical services — and even massage machines for tired feet. The Indian government must listen to the voice of the farmers and take all measures to alleviate their concerns. We, in Pakistan, support the farmers and also their demands.

Aliya Rustam
Rajanpur

Letters to the Editor

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Achieving SDGs

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) Report 2020 ranks Pakistan at 134 out of 166 countries. Pakistan was ranked 130th in 2019. Out of 17 SDGs, Pakistan is struggling with 13. Even the three goals where we have shown some progress do not indicate that we have achieved them. The authorities must realise that we cannot achieve all these goals by 2030 if we do not show serious commitment. Regress on the ranking means the government needs to do more. We have a ten-year slot and the challenges in all goals are enormous and can result in our failure to achieve them by 2030. It is important that policymakers sit together and find out the best way forward to overcome the hurdles that are making it difficult for us to be on the right track. Actionable plans lie in waiting, projects that have not received the proper attention of the authorities are wanting. It is time for the government to improve the standard of life in Pakistan.

Fajar Fatima
Dadu

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Civil Service Reforms

Reforming the bureaucracy had been a major part of PTI's administrative plan. In this regard it has unveiled some of the most sweeping changes, the Civil Servants (E&D) Rules-2020 in December last year, and on the recent reforms announced by Federal Minister for Education and Professional Training Shafqat Mahmood. The reforms are designed to inculcate more transparency on performance and have more evaluation methods by transferring the authority from a hierarchical one to the new appointing authorities. Promotion will be made with more scrutiny, to hold those with corruption allegations or pending investigations to account. More discipline and efficiency rules have also been announced. These reforms are good and are bound to increase transparency. The government will, however, need to keep a check on the appointing authorities to make sure the rules are being followed; otherwise, that same culture could seep in the accountability mechanisms as well. One step towards countering that would be to make enquiries and the civil service process more public so the authorities are accountable to the public, as well as the government.

Sajjad Ikram
Rawalpindi

Kashmiris and Pakistanis in Joe Biden's Team

1. Salman Ahmed

President Joe Biden has inducted Salman Ahmed into his foreign policy team. Mr Ahmed, who previously served as head of strategic planning in the Obama National Security Council, has joined the US State Department as Director Policy Planning. Mr Ahmed was chief of staff of the US Mission to the United Nations and senior policy adviser to the US Permanent Representative to the United Nations. Before joining the Department of State in 2009, Mr Ahmed served as a visiting professor and research scholar at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, and worked for almost fifteen years at the United Nations, including posts as chief of staff for the Head of UN Peacekeeping Operations. Mr Ahmed holds a master's degree in international relations from the University of Cambridge, and a



Bachelor of Science in economics from New York University's Stern School of Business.

2. Ali Zaidi

Joe Biden picked Ali Zaidi as Deputy National Climate Adviser. Mr Zaidi will work directly under former Secretary of State John Kerry who has been appointed President Biden's special envoy for climate.



With regard to climate change, world-renowned Pakistani-born expert Ali Zaidi will provide advice to the White House on reducing unsafe natural resources and increasing pollution. His liaison will be with the Office of the Management of Budget (OMB) in the United States.

In terms of his position, he will be close to President Biden in the White House because climate change is one of their first priorities. Ali Zaidi has also been instrumental in tackling pollution with the Obama administration. He has been advising the departments of Energy and Environment since 2009. That's why Biden added his

name to the first team. He will still assist in the preparation of budgets for sectors such as agriculture, conservation, infrastructure and technology.

As such, with the help of experts, he will be able to come up with comprehensive proposals. His portfolio is close to \$100 billion. He will also oversee the implementation of President Biden's economic and environmental policies.

Zaidi is the highest-ranking Pakistani-American appointed by Biden in his administration.

3. Sameera Fazili

Kashmiri-origin Sameera Fazili has been named deputy director of the National Economic Council at the White House. The council coordinates the economic policy-making process and provides advice to the US president.



Originally from Buffalo, she now lives in Georgia with her husband and three children. Fazili is a graduate of Yale Law School and Harvard College. Sameera Fazili is the daughter of a Kashmiri-born doctor couple, Muhammad Yusuf Fazili and Rafiq Fazili, originally from the Gojwara area.

Fazili was at the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta where she served as the Director of Engagement for Community and Economic Development. In the Obama-Biden administration, Fazili served as a senior policy advisor on the White House's National Economic

Council, and as a senior advisor at the US Treasury Department in both Domestic Finance and International Affairs. Prior to that, she was a clinical lecturer of law at Yale Law School.

Fazili played a key role in one of the protests within four days of abrogation of Article 370 in August 2019. She supports 'Stand with Kashmir' (SWK), a Kashmiri diaspora-led international solidarity movement.

4. Aisha Shah

Ms Shah has been named as partnership Manager at the White House Office of Digital Strategy.

Aisha Shah was born in Kashmir and raised in Louisiana. Shah currently serves as an Advancement Specialist for the Smithsonian Institution.

Earlier, Shah served as an assistant manager on the Corporate Fund of the John F

Kennedy Centre for the Performing Arts, supporting the first ever expansion of a presidential memorial. Shah also served as a strategic communication specialist at Buoy, an integrated marketing firm that specializes in social impact communications as well as spitfire strategies, where she enabled non-profits to use pop culture as a tool for social change.



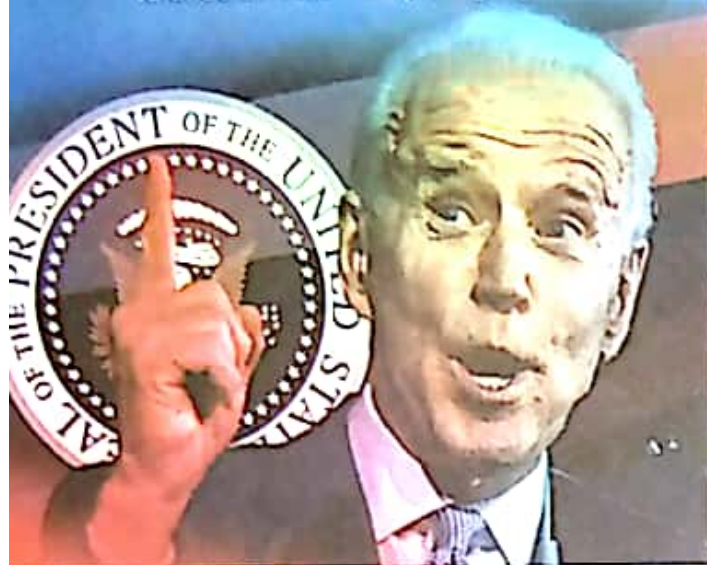
Top Jobs In Joe Biden's administration



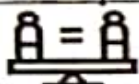
PRESIDENT BIDEN

DAY 1

Joe Biden signs seventeen executive orders to undo Donald Trump's legacy



Racial and LGBT equality



Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

Reinforced

It requires that the federal government does not discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity, a policy that reverses action by Trump's administration

Immigration



Construction of Trump's border wall with Mexico

Halted

Biden's order includes an "immediate termination" of the national emergency declaration that allowed the Trump administration to redirect billions of dollars to the wall

Economy



Federal moratorium on evictions

Extended

Has asked agencies to prolong a moratorium on foreclosures on federally guaranteed mortgages that was enacted in response to the coronavirus pandemic

Federal student loan interest and principal payments

Pause to continue

Ethics pledge for those who serve in the Biden administration

Rules established

Immigration



Trump's order on DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program)

Rolled back

The programme protects immigrants brought to the United States as children, often called Dreamers, from deportation

Trump administration's plan to exclude noncitizens from the census count

Revoked

Immigration



Trump executive order pushing aggressive efforts to find and deport unauthorized immigrants

Overtaken

Deportation of Libians who have been living in the United States

Blocked

Trump ban to the United States from several predominantly Muslim and African countries

Ended

Climate



Trump administration's environmental policies

Process of reversal begins

Rollbacks to vehicle emissions standards

Reversed

Permit for the Keystone XL pipeline

Revoked

Climate



Paris climate accords

Rejoined

Biden has signed a letter to reenter the United States in the Paris climate accords, which it will officially rejoin in 30 days

Climate



Oil and natural gas leases in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge

Temporary moratorium enforced

Working group on the social costs of greenhouse gasses

Reestablished

Racial and LGBT equality



Trump's executive order limiting the ability of federal agencies, contractors, and other institutions to hold diversity and inclusion training

Revoked

Equal access to federal government resources, benefits, and services, and equity in ranks

Agencies to ensure

Agencies to review and report on equity in their ranks within 200 days, including a plan on how to remove barriers to opportunities in policies and programs

Economy



New regulations put in motion by Trump in the lame-duck period

Freeze issued

The memorandum is aimed at preventing so-called midnight regulations policies pushed through by Trump unconstrained by electoral considerations



Pandemic

Directorate for global health security and biodefense at the National Security Council

Restored

Appoints a COVID-19 response coordinator in an effort to "aggressively" gear up America's response to the pandemic

Ties with the World Health Organization

Reinstated

Trump administration withdrew US's membership and funding last year



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Vaccine Nationalism

The scramble among nations for limited supplies of Covid-19 vaccines has drawn attention to long-standing inequities in public health between the global North and South. The Covid-19 Vaccine Global Access Facility (COVAX) is one of the several initiatives to pool resources to acquire vaccines for lower-income countries and coordinate distribution. But months before any vaccine had been approved, high-income countries, accounting for only a fraction of the global population, had already placed orders for more than half of the projected early supply of vaccine doses. The new mechanisms may not be an instant cure for vaccine nationalism, but they may prove to be an incremental step toward more effective and more equitable collaboration.



Shafqat Javed

inoculations against the coronavirus in some rich nations and wondering if and when they will be vaccinated. He has called for vaccines to be treated as "a global public good," available to everyone, everywhere on the planet.

Introduction

For those who believe that a vaccine for Covid-19 will end or largely contain this pandemic or who hope that new drugs will be discovered to combat its effects, there is plenty cause for concern. Instead of working together to craft and implement a global strategy, a growing number of countries are taking a "my nation first" approach to developing and distributing potential vaccines or other pharmaceutical treatments.

How are richer countries first in line?

A small number of wealthy nations, including the United States, have spent billions of dollars locking up early supplies of the most promising novel coronavirus vaccines. Some rich countries were purchasing vaccines in huge amounts, even several times more than their population, while UN-led programs like COVAX lacked sufficient resources to support the poor countries. There are 172 countries participating in the World Health Organisation's COVAX initiative, which seeks to make the vaccine available to everyone. But COVAX, despite being much touted, has only been able to procure 250 million doses — far below the numbers purchased by some of the



After nearly a year of waging a "war" on the coronavirus, many countries are poised to declare victory. Early agreements to purchase Covid-19 vaccines are beginning to pay off for the likes of Britain, the United States, Canada

and the European Union, but much of the world is waiting. The richest nations have secured billions of doses of Covid-19 vaccines, while developing economies struggle to access supplies. But, the prevailing "every nation for itself" approach to obtaining potential vaccines and remedies for Covid-19 is the wrong way to go. UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres has also warned that "vaccine nationalism" is moving "at full speed," leaving poor people around the globe watching preparations for

INTERNATIONAL

world's wealthiest countries.

By securing doses from a variety of drugmakers, increasing the chances they'd have access to early winners, such as the vaccine designed by Pfizer Inc. and BioNTech SE and another by Moderna Inc. Some 96% of Pfizer's first supplies and all of Moderna's doses were snapped up by wealthy countries, according to a report by health advocates including Oxfam. In all, prosperous nations representing 14% of people on the planet purchased more than half of the most promising shots. Canada signed contracts to obtain enough potential doses for five times its population. China and Russia focused on domestic production and authorized their own shots before they'd been fully tested. They've vaccinated more than a million people, according to data compiled by Bloomberg.

America-First Policy

The United States, with its utterly self-dealing practice of vaccine nationalism, is diminishing the light at the end of the tunnel of the ravaging pandemic. While countless people worldwide, particularly those highly vulnerable in developing and the least developed countries, are waiting anxiously to be

The Antidote

The antidote to vaccine nationalism is vaccine multilateralism. An international cooperative effort should work to distribute the vaccine first to wherever it is needed most, without consideration of national wealth or power. Furthermore, this global effort should get the vaccine to all who need it. In keeping with the common pledge made by all the members of the United Nations in the Sustainable Development Goals, this multilateral effort must make certain that "no one will be left behind," and it must "endeavour to reach the furthest behind first." The goal is to end the pandemic, and this goal cannot be achieved if a vaccine is not available to everyone sooner rather than later, including — and especially — those in the poorer countries of the world. In pursuit of this goal, practicality demands multilateral cooperation. The devastating Covid-19 pandemic cannot be defeated by nationalism. It can only be defeated by internationalism in the form of mutually beneficial multilateral cooperation. Without much more multilateral cooperation on access to new vaccines, the "whack-a-mole" resurgence of Covid-19 in country after country cannot be prevented, and the pandemic cannot be stopped. Instead, the intense health and economic suffering caused by the pandemic will persist and indeed increase worldwide.

reserved more than half of all the promising vaccine supplies. Most troublingly, an unequal distribution of vaccines creates a bottleneck, depriving poorer nations of a vaccine supply. In fact, many nations on the lower rungs of the global economic ladder may not achieve access to immunisation until 2024. Although there are ambitious efforts to ensure that the shots reach low- and middle-income countries, it's unclear when that will happen. Public health specialists warn that delays are likely to prolong the pandemic, bringing more suffering and economic pain.

Where does this leave low-income nations?

The People's Vaccine Alliance, a coalition advocating rapid production and equitable deployment of shots, found that 67 lower-income countries, from Kenya to Pakistan, are at risk of being left behind. Researchers at the Duke Global Health Innovation Center estimate that the last in line may not get vaccines until 2024. Access now will depend on the vaccine developers trailing Pfizer and Moderna. AstraZeneca Plc and the University of



Rich Countries Have Bought up the Bulk of Covid-19 Vaccines

Nations representing 14% of the world's population...

Including the United States, UK, Australia, Japan, Switzerland, Israel and the EU.

...have agreed deals for 53% of the initial supply of Covid-19 vaccines*

Oxfam warns that 9 out of 10 people in poor countries will not get a vaccine before 2022.

Oxford, whose shot awaits approval, plan to commit almost two-thirds of their doses to developing nations, according to Oxfam and its partners. At most, they may reach less than a fifth of the world's population by the end of 2021, they said.

vaccinated, the United States, along with some other rich countries, is trying to hoard as many vaccines as they can. If the United States exercises its option to buy 500 million more doses of the Pfizer and BioNTech vaccine, 94 percent of the projected supply of the first immunization authorized for public use will be spoken for through the end of 2021. By one recent estimate, nations representing just one-seventh of the world's population have already

Dangers

Vaccine nationalism can have several negative implications for the production and equitable distribution of potential vaccines across the world.

Firstly, the race observed between superpowers such as the US, China and Russia for who is going to develop a vaccine first could help to drive the successful development of potential vaccines. However, the geopolitical competition could also induce countries to speed up their trials and, to satisfy public demand, push for quicker and riskier regulatory approvals. If it transpires that some of these vaccines are not effective or have severe side-effects, that could further erode public trust in vaccines and complicate national vaccination plans.

Secondly, the current public focus is on the development of the vaccine. However, once there are safe and effective vaccine candidates available, they need to be produced and administered at scale. Vaccine manufacturing is a complex process.

The infrastructure needed will depend on the type of vaccine developed and there is also the challenge that poorer countries may not have adequate systems to



deliver and administer doses that have been manufactured in different environments, mostly found in the wealthier countries. Moreover, components for a vaccine usually come from different geographical locations that specialise in specific stages of the production process. A 'nationalistic' approach to vaccine production could lead to global vaccine supply chains being interrupted if some countries hoard the key inputs, causing production delays.

Thirdly, in order to secure access to a vaccine, many governments, mostly from wealthier countries, have signed direct bilateral deals with producers of vaccine candidates in order to secure a stock for their own population. This patchwork of bilateral agreements could adversely affect the pricing and availability of potential vaccines as wealthier countries bid for limited vaccine supplies. A 'my nation first' approach could lead to an inefficient allocation

of early available vaccines, potentially favouring individuals at less risk in high-income countries over high-risk individuals in poorer countries.







Case of Pakistan

The Covid-19 graph in Pakistan has spelled doom in the second wave way beyond what was experienced in the first. The spread of the virus throughout the country is worrying, and the continued laxity of the general public may trigger a situation in which the healthcare system is overwhelmed. With a national positivity rate of over 8pc and the number of critically ill patients growing, an all-out nightmare does not seem too far away.

In Pakistan, the government has promised that every citizen will receive the vaccine free of charge. The vaccine is not even expected to be available in the country until April. It has not yet been specified where Pakistan's vaccines will come from. On the plus side, the yet unknown side effects of the many vaccines under production may be better known.

If Pakistan decides to procure the vaccines from China, it would be essential that the government obtains safety data from the manufacturers. This may prove to be problematic since the Chinese government, which owns a stake in all Chinese companies, does not have a history of being transparent about its methodology and data. It may provide vaccines at a lower cost to many countries, but it may not be known exactly how these vaccines work and

Stages of vaccine development

- 1 **Virus analysis**
What causes the body's immune response to the virus infection?

- 2 **A vaccine is developed**
Which components should go into the vaccine?

- 3 **Animals trials**
Focus on effectiveness and tolerance

- 4 **Human trials**
Vaccine is tested on volunteers over different stages

- 5 **Approval**
EMA* or FDA* give go-ahead for vaccine

- 6 **Mass production**
Vaccine is produced for general population


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how effective they are.

Then, there are problems of credibility. Even before Covid-19 hit, Pakistanis had a history of being suspicious of vaccinations. They have good reason to be, after all; it was a hepatitis vaccination programme that was used by the CIA to obtain DNA from Osama bin Laden's hidden progeny. The impact of that event, the propaganda

Covid-19 vaccine hoarding puts poor countries in danger

- **67** low-income countries will only be able to vaccinate **1 in 10** people by **2021** end
- Rich countries represent **14%** of world's population but have secured **53%** of all promising vaccines
- COVAX has secured only **700M** doses for **3.6B** citizens of 92 lower and middle-income countries
- **Oxford/AstraZeneca** will deliver **64%** of their vaccine doses to people in developing countries

spread by various extremist groups, and the general experience of government incompetency all mean that the regular Pakistani cannot help but hesitate.

To prevent this, the government needs to begin taking steps right away. First of all, it must be made clear which vaccine is being procured and what ongoing safety information is

available concerning the trials of that vaccine. Second, a public health initiative must be launched to create confidence in the vaccine. Third, when the vaccine finally does become available, various political leaders must take the vaccine publicly, in front of television cameras.

None of these things can happen unless the vaccine that is procured is well and widely tested. The worst possible way to go about this is for one vaccine to be procured for all the poor masses and then others made available for the wealthy who can afford better vaccines and are not limited to the cheap public version. Sadly, if the past is evidence, this is precisely how things will proceed.

Conclusion

This "vaccine nationalism" is not only morally reprehensible, but also a wrong

way to reduce transmission globally. And global transmission matters: If countries with a large number of cases lag in obtaining the vaccine and other medicines, the disease will continue to disrupt global supply chains and, as a result, economies around the world.

Viruses are the common enemy of the whole world. No one is safe until everyone is safe. An entire immunization

in a restricted area or a single nation cannot exterminate the pathogen in all corners of the globe. On the contrary, it will only prolong the pandemic and explode the costs of the global battle against the virus. In a recent report by Northeastern University, researchers said that monopolization of vaccines by wealthy nations could cause almost twice as many deaths as distributing them equally.

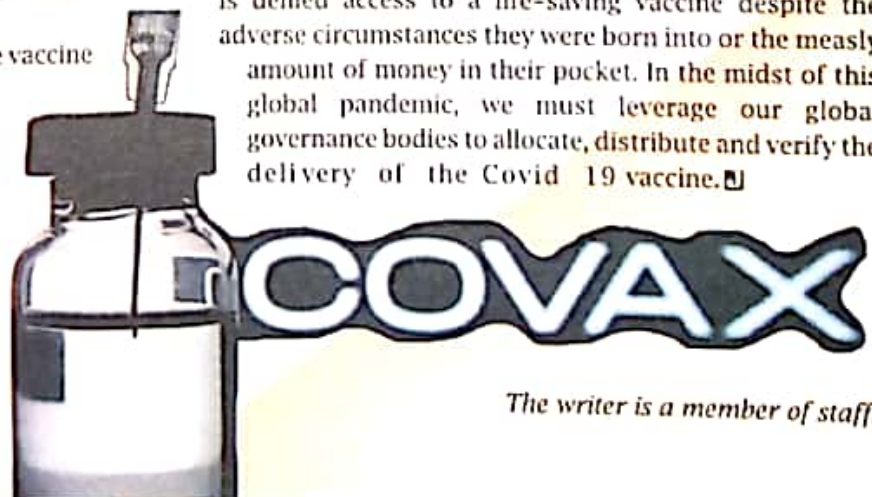
When supply is limited, the world should ensure vaccinating some people in all countries, rather than all people in some

countries, as the World Health Organization (WHO) warned early in September.

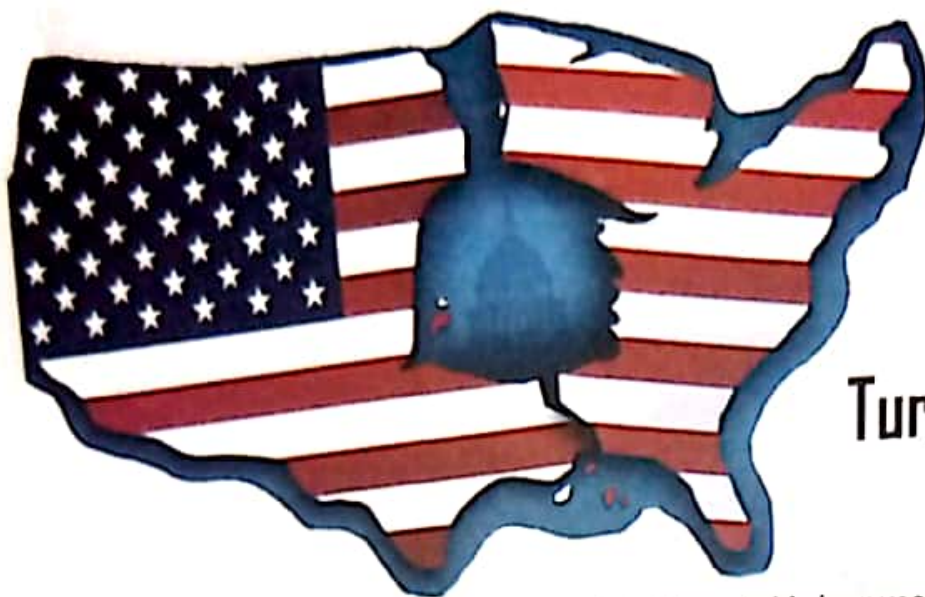
Cooperation is the most potent weapon to beat the virus, yet vaccine nationalism is undermining the world's collective drive to end the pandemic, exposing the selfishness and short-sightedness in Washington and some Western countries.

Vaccine nationalism, if left unchecked, will only plunge the world's weakest health

system down to its nadir. To vanquish the pathogen, all members of the world community should reject categorically this zero-sum mindset. After all, the spirit of humanitarianism can only be best served when no one is denied access to a life-saving vaccine despite the adverse circumstances they were born into or the measly amount of money in their pocket. In the midst of this global pandemic, we must leverage our global governance bodies to allocate, distribute and verify the delivery of the Covid 19 vaccine. □



The writer is a member of staff.



America and Its Turbulent Democracy Look for Change

The Unthinkable Insurrection against America's Powerhouse

Mahboob A. Khawaja, PhD



The encompassing chaos echoes the worst upcoming epoch in contemporary American

history. In all rational observations, it was an authoritarian-sponsored coup against We the People who had systematically elected Joe Biden in November last year. There were silenced pleas and indifference by top Republican leadership who shared Trump's belligerent stance on the outcomes of the election. Is it a wake-up call for a rethinking of the American emotional outburst or an opportunity to reflect intelligently as to what went wrong on that historic day? In his piece titled "If You Think That Trump Will Not Continue to Push a Coup, Then Think Again," Rowan Wolf highlights the following facts:

"It is critical that we take seriously the impact of the lies, propaganda and actual coup attempt that is occurring. Trump and the GOP have colluded in creating a narrative that has left a large portion of our population believing that 1) there has been significant fraud in the vote; 2) that the Biden win is illegitimate; 3) that the actions taken by Trump and the GOP are legal, legitimate and 'saving' our democracy. The

America and its politics find itself at the tyranny of reason of which it appears to be unconscious either by design or by choice. The living thought of American political harmony does not seem to exhibit an ideal scenario of democracy as acclaimed by its political proponents. The perplexities and despotic character are rooted in the making of modern democracy. American constitutional sense of liberty, freedom and justice appears tainted and dislodged by the individualistic Trump cult and the planned mob violence against the epicenter of political governance in Washington D.C. on January 06. It exposed an ugly and forbidden truth about the American political thought, values and plastic configuration of piety of democratic values. The gangsters' upsurge denied the normal functioning of the working seat of political governance to verify the results of the 2020 presidential election won by Democrat Joe Biden. The seditious crowd chanted "Hang Pence" against the Vice President, "take hostage" the enemy of Trump victory, the election was "fraudulent" and "Trump won" the election.

truth is the obverse of this. In fact, we have a larger portion of the people and virtually the whole of the GOP throwing democracy and the Constitution into the ditch in order to establish an oligarchy, a dictatorship. They are attempting to throw out the votes of tens of millions of people in a coup."

The mob violence and killing of five Americans signalled deficient security arrangements to safeguard the sanctity of the Capitol complex, members of Congress and Senate who were discharging their legal duties to address the agenda of verification of the election results. It represented a lack of planning and a distorted image of American official planning on security and protection of human lives. If there were responsible and rational officials, the security plan would have met the challenge of the day. But, there was nothing to stabilize a trivial emerging catastrophic security emergency. Strangely enough, a

few weeks earlier, the 'Black Lives Matter' protest was met with police brutality, rubber bullets and a cordoned-off Capitol premise. President Trump incited the mob for an appalling way forward to undo the congressional verification of the President-elect, Joe Biden. Would

President Trump be held accountable for his insurrection and violation of the tenets of the US Constitution? Or would he go unpunished for the next ten days?

Responding to this formidable challenge, Nancy Pelosi, the Speaker of the House of Representatives is calling for "impeachment" of President Trump, and demands invocation of the 25th Amendment to the US Constitution to dismiss Trump from the office of the US President. The time and opportunity for a reasoned dialogue was lost by Trump and the Republican Party leadership. The followers of Trump's cult performed the staged drama to appease the emperor and his complicit supporters. Cynicism about American politicians is endemic across the board. Could the present American leadership restore a sense of political normalcy in a highly turbulent crisis that engulfed the nation to a greater risk of insecurity and survival for a sustainable political future?

This author made the following observations in "American Presidential Election and Democracy Look for Change, Moral and Intellectual Leadership" in the following words:

To glance ahead, America and its claim to a working democracy will haunt future generations with suspicion and extended discard. Trump and his coercive puppies could not think of America as part of the global community except as conforming to their own fantasies, phobias, prejudices, policies, practices and preferences, favouring Israel and Netanyahu and nothing else for the pandemic-entrenched people of America. History will tell of this time when Trump plagued the body politic with a deliberate misinterpretation of the election and outrageous futuristic hypotheses leading nowhere in a civilized society. The sudden and inexplicable democratic plunge into self-gearred wickedness must be catastrophic for future generations.

Did America's War Abroad Generate the Evolution of Domestic Terrorism?

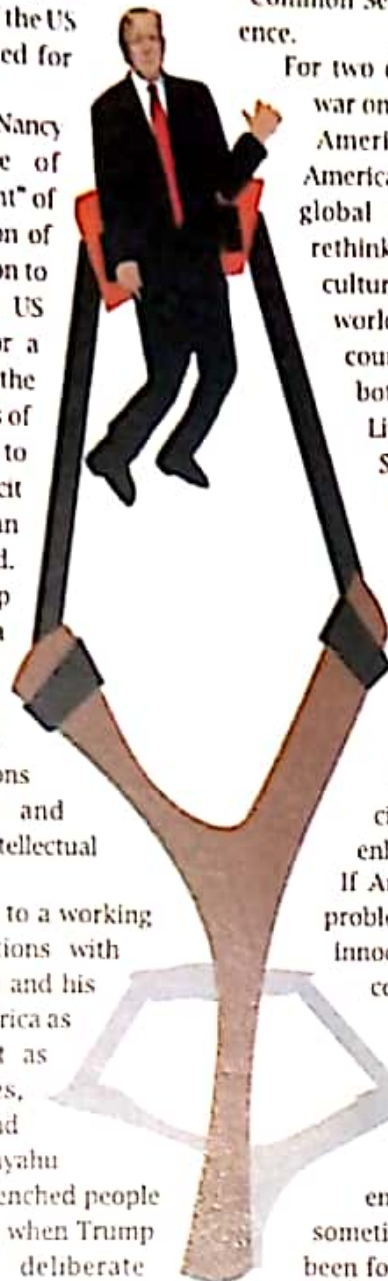
Is there a connection between America's global war-mongering and the domestic "terrorism" advanced by the Trump cult? In every political culture, there is peculiar psychology to see its own pros, and nothing else. If America and its democracy ignore the imperatives of living time, its articulation of futuristic time will be totally unlike its own — a contradiction covered by adroit instinct. Could America and its political leadership see the mirror and do some soul-searching? "There are the times that try men's soul," noted Thomas Paine in his famous

"Common Sense" — the lifeline to American independence.

For two decades, the continued America-led bogus war on terrorism had wide-ranging impacts on the American political and intellectual psyche. Americans are on the frontline of terrorizing the global mankind, not searching for strategic rethinking — what went wrong with one of the most cultured and intellectually enriched nations of the world? We the People continued to witness countless emerging catastrophic developments, both man-made and natural, to impact the Living Earth and human lives. According to Sherwood Ross, "US-sponsored Genocide against Iraq 1990-2012 killed 3.3 million including 750,000 children." During the Bush-Obama administrations, US drones massacred some 25,000-30,000 innocent Pakistani civilians in the northwest tribal belt of Pakistan adjacent to Afghanistan under the false pretext of 'war on terrorism'. It is estimated that more than a million Afghan civilians were killed and forcibly displaced, enlarging the scope of forgotten graveyards.

If America cannot deal with its own domestic problems of unusual violence, killings of the innocents and fear-mongering politics, how could it be helpful to others on the globe? One wonders, what went wrong with America!

William Boardman in his "A Country at War with an Illusion" spells out that America is at war with itself: "We are waging war on terrorism even as we embody terrorism ... No wonder we seem sometimes to be at war with ourselves, and have been for most of the 21st century ... No American under 12 has lived in a country at peace ... America's





main enemy is nameless, shapeless, 'associated forces'... the American enemies' list is decided anonymously and secretly."

Could America Look for New Ideals in a Changing World?
True wisdom needs soul-searching and tranquillity of human behaviour — the manifestations of true wisdom. If Americans are intelligent, they should listen to voices of reason and wisdom before it's too late. Its pains, horrors and cruelty are within itself. America and its democratic manifestations are prone to change under conditions of time, space and waking consciousness. The primacy of imperative is 'reason'. Those entrusted with power and responsibilities within the Republican Party echelons do not appear to understand the need for change, time and interest of the masses. Viewing it a conjectural or cautious

optimism, leadership in the Republican Party is exploited by Trump and his supporters and the powerhouse is closer to anarchy than reasoned dialogue. The divine messages of the Quran and Holy Bible remind man, the chief creation of God on earth, that continuous wars, greed, killings and man-made disasters are a prelude to staunch punishment from God. So, be accountable and do not transgress in the lands. If you go thousands of miles away and commit massacres and destroy the God-given human habitats with your feeble minds and machinery, do you think, this trespassing will not bring dire consequences for you?

We reside on a living earth that sustains life and a living universe that takes account of all human deeds — our history-making is intricately linked to our knowledge data and the nature of things — man's history and the self, and be aware that in every ideal of the self, there is both conjecture of man and his action and how all visible and invisible events shape our thoughts, wisdom or future-in-waiting. It is a time and an opportunity out of the American crises to look into the known and unknown conscious experience for a comprehensive picture in a mirror—who they were and where they are the underlying rational purpose for a navigational change to elucidate the path of fair and systematic change for We, the People future-making. ☐

Dr Mahboob A. Khawaja is the author of several publications including the latest: Global Peace, Security and Conflict Resolution: Approaches to Understand the Current Issues and Future-Making.



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US foreign policy comes in phases. From the end of World War II to 1972, its goal was to confront the Soviet Union and affiliated communist governments. Things changed a little in the early 1970s, when the US, weakened by the Vietnam War, began to work with China against the Soviet Union to eventually reach a detente. This lasted until 1991 and the collapse of the Soviet Union. From the early 1990s to 2001, Washington fixated on leading a global, peaceful world order. That, too, changed on 9/11, after which policy revolved around the global war on terror. The wars were costly and minimally effective.

Obama, Trump and Biden Consistency in Foreign Policy

George Friedman

The current phase of US foreign policy was put into place by Barack Obama. It consisted of reducing military forces in the Middle East and creating a new relationship with the Muslim world; adopting a more adversarial stance on Russia, including Moscow's forays in its near abroad; and confronting China on trade relations

and, specifically, Beijing's manipulation of its currency. Donald Trump's foreign policy naturally followed. He also sought to withdraw troops from the Middle East and to create a new relationship in the region. He was instrumental in formalizing a coalition structure consisting of certain Arab nations and Israel against Iran, and made some unexpected troop withdrawals. He brought economic pressure on China, the effects of which remain to be seen. And finally, he continued to confront Russia, maintaining US forces in Poland, Romania and the Black Sea.

There were, of course, many other dimensions of all their foreign policies, but these were the most definitive. Relations with Europe were a means to dealing with other issues, much as they had been since 1945. Relations with East Asia were similarly instrumental. But the key elements of the Obama-Trump foreign policy era was the withdrawal and restructuring of the Middle East, containing Russia and confronting China. The language, gestures and general atmosphere were different, but the reality was the same. They had no other choices. The Middle East was essential, and George W. Bush's foreign policy had run its course.

Joe Biden has stepped into the presidency with as few choices as Trump. The tone and tenor will be radically different, but the policy will not. Biden has suggested, for example, that he will adopt a more conciliatory policy toward Iran. The problem is that the new architecture of the region consists of states fundamentally hostile to Iran, particularly its nuclear capabilities. They do not trust Iranian promises on this issue, because betrayal could be catastrophic to them. Biden cannot let the budding alliance structure fall apart, nor can it afford to go forward without a strong US hand. Biden can say he wants to be more conciliatory to Iran, and he can be that, but he can do so only by proposing an alternative to the regional alliance created during the

previous administration.

There is no indication that Biden intends to shift US policy on Russia and China. And if he does, it will be in response to how China and Russia behave as he enters office. China could become conciliatory itself and acquiesce to American demands, or it could become more militarily aggressive first to test Biden and probe for weakness. How Biden reacts to either scenario will reshape US-Chinese relations. The initiative is in China's hands, since the US can hold its current positions. Likewise, Russia can continue to acquire strategic depth by creating informal realities in places like Belarus or the South Caucasus. But if so, the US will have to modify - but not abandon - its containment policy. Just as the logic of the Obama era remained in place under Trump, so too will the Trump logic hold under Biden, adjusting to new realities and rhetoric. US policy will continue to be focused on the new Middle East alignment, Russian containment and confrontation with China.

The promise to draw closer to global allies is praiseworthy until it's attempted. The US can try to have warmer meetings with Europe, and the Europeans might choose to become more confrontational with China, but that will be because it is in their interest, not because it fits inside the parameters of what constitutes "normal diplomacy." The interests of the US and Europe don't usually collide, nor do they perfectly align. The Europeans tend to be risk averse, especially in places like Asia, where the US can't afford to be lackadaisical. Everyone there is scared of China. A sudden reconciliation between China and the United States would be an earthquake.

Foreign policy evolves, but it evolves rapidly and dangerously. Biden is president, but his foreign policy, like that of all other presidents, will be surrounded by domestic turpitudes and so will seek predictability. (Oddly, Trump did as well, even when he appeared not to.) What Biden fears is that thing likely to come: a gut check from the Chinese, Russians or Iranians. If he is savvy enough, he will navigate them so that he can hold fast to the policies he inherited. That is the most likely scenario. Being innovative while being tested can have unexpected consequences. ■



The End of Brexit Saga



The relationship between the European Union and the United Kingdom has always been characterized by ambivalence, bickering, rejection and scepticism. They have oscillated between cooperation and distancing.

Historically, the UK kept itself distanced from Europe. On the back of Reformation (the rejection of the authority of the Catholic Church and adoption of Protestantism as the state religion) and an unparalleled colonial empire, Britain remained aloof from European affairs, and instead focused on overseeing its colonies and international trade and security. That historical baggage, coupled with the desire to play the role of a world power, stopped the UK from joining European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and European Economic Community (EEC) in the 1950s and 60s. But, turbulent decades after Second World War proved disastrous for Britain. The decolonization in rapid succession and the Suez Canal crisis in 1956, in which the US refused to extend support to the aborted attempt of France and UK to retake the Suez Canal after the Egyptian government nationalized it, dealt a serious blow to London's global prestige and influence. Humiliated and abandoned, the UK then decided to join European Economic Community to extract economic advantages and to have a say in the decision-making. Despite UK's

decision to accede to EEC, it faced resistance from France—French President, Charles De Gaulle, twice vetoed Britain's accession bids, in 1963 and 1967, because he doubted its commitment with political objectives of EEC, and considered Britain's economy incompatible with those of the six members of EEC. The UK's special relations with the United States were also considered a stumbling block in strengthening Europe. Eventually, after assurance from England regarding the common budget and other pillars of European integration, it was allowed to join the ECC, the forerunner of the EU in 1973. Notwithstanding that the UK joined the EU out of its economic, military and diplomatic compulsions, British leadership, both Conservative and Labour, remained sceptical about the EU integration. The name of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is particularly worth mentioning here. She successfully negotiated the UK Rebate, a financial mechanism that substantially reduced its contribution to the EU budget—the arrangement which remained exclusive to Britain only—in 1984. The UK frequently used the opt-out option, a safeguard that allowed any of the EU member countries not to implement some areas of Brussels-endorsed policies. In 1985, it refused to join the Schengen Area - it comprises 26 European countries that have

Britain's long, sometimes acrimonious, relationship with the European Union finally ended on December 31. It was a day some had been longing for and others dreading since Britain voted in a 2016 referendum to leave the 28-nation bloc. Prime Minister Boris Johnson, whose support for Brexit helped push the country out of the EU, termed this divorce "an amazing moment for this country." In the following write-up, the author has presented an informed view on the issue of Brexit; discoursing on the different aspects of this epoch-making event.

Aftab H. Wahla

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officially abolished all passport and all other types of controls at their mutual borders thereby maintaining passport controls on its border. Though Ms Thatcher's successor, John Major, succeeded to pass the Maastricht Treaty, which helped create the European Union by expanding the EU's remit in the areas of foreign affairs, policing and justice, after protracted legal and parliamentary manoeuvring, UK opted out of the Monetary Union and instead decided to use pound sterling as its national currency, instead of euro. Not only that, Britain refused to accept EU police and criminal legislation, and showed reluctance to fully implement the Charter of the Fundamental Rights of European Union. Throughout its almost half-century-long membership, UK's successive leaders expressed their concerns over the EU's emphasis upon internal treaties and processes rather than taking a pragmatic approach to common energy policy and improving European defence capabilities.

Though both Labour and Conservative leadership remained sceptical about the EU project, they, nonetheless,

preferred to remain within the jurisdiction of the EU, albeit a limited one. The far-right UK Independence Party (UKIP), which emerged exclusively on the slogan of Brexit, remained a fringe element, and could never threaten mainstream parties due to sustained economic growth in the 1990s. During the first decade of the 21st century, multiple factors combined to give rise to popular support for Brexit.

Financial crises of 2004 and 2008, immigration, political ambitions of the EU and constant interference in UK's domestic affairs provided ammunition to UKIP, and its growing popularity compelled David Cameron, who was aspiring to become UK's premier, to include a referendum on this issue in his manifesto and resultantly, after the formulation of government, David Cameron went ahead to fulfil his promise and to ascertain popular aspirations. The result was shocking to the world community as well as for Cameron himself as 51.9% of the voters decided to leave the EU. This made David Cameron resign from his office. In the aftermath of this tectonic shift in UK politics, Britain experienced, from 2016 to the very end of 2020, turmoil, political instability, economic uncertainty and social upheaval. Afterwards, resignation of two more prime ministers - Theresa May and Boris Johnson - and three extensions in the deadline, finally, Boris Johnson

succeeded to leave the EU Common Market and Customs Union at 11 pm on 31 December 2020 - midnight in Brussels—an agreement titled as "The Trade and Cooperation Agreement" was signed by both sides on December 24. This agreement does contain some important terms. Its salient features are worth discussion here so as to better analyze the implication of Brexit for the world in general and Pakistan in particular.

1. Both sides had a narrow escape from a no-deal scenario that could have dealt a serious blow to the economies of the UK and EU. Britain's Office of Budget Responsibility estimated that a "No Deal" could have reduced the UK's economic output by \$54 billion and caused a loss of 300,000 jobs in 2021. Fortunately, sanity prevailed and both sides came up with the deal that ensured "taking back the sovereignty of Britain" in the words of British PM and "satisfaction and relief" in those of Ursula von der Leyen, the president of the European Commission.

2. It is no soft deal at all. The UK has left the EU's orbit in all spheres—law, regulations, Customs Union,

administration, and so on. In every possible manner, it is a hard deal, promised and advocated by the Leave group that would resonate well among the Eurosceptic elements of UK's society.

The Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA) is comprehensive in nature as it covers future UK-EU relations in the areas, inter alia, food, immigration, fishing, counter-terrorism,

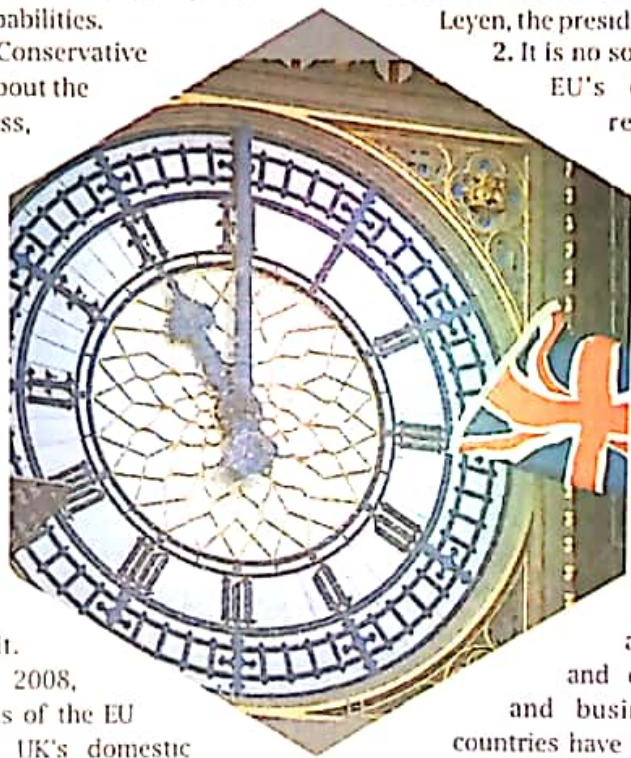
aviation, civil nuclear technology

and energy interconnection. Trade

and business relationships with EU

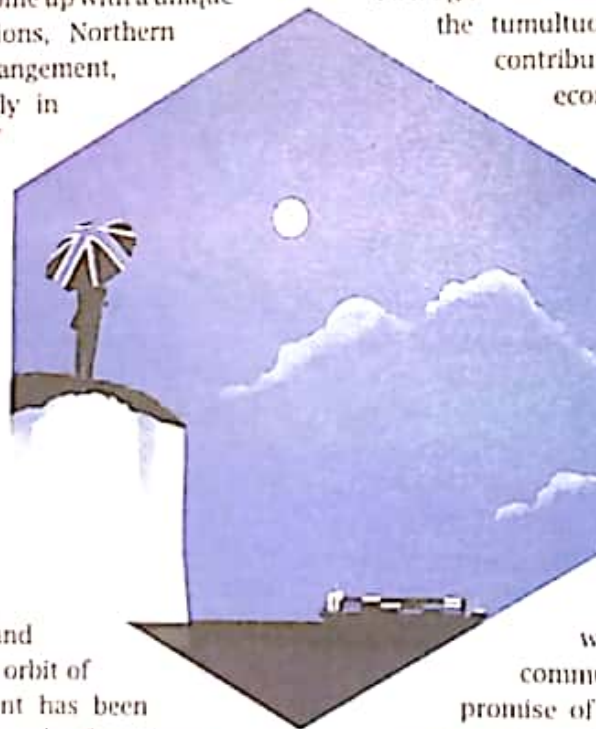
countries have been a major concern for both

Leave and Remain groups as the EU is the largest trading partner of the UK. The EU accounted for 43% of Britain's exports in 2019 (almost \$400 billion) and more than half the UK's imports (worth \$508 billion) came from EU countries in the same year. Despite the fact that the UK has left the Single Market and Customs Union, the deal has achieved 100% liberalization that means zero tariffs and quotas on the goods that will cross the UK-EU border. In the words of Boris Johnson, "There will be no palisade of tariff ... and non-tariff barriers to trade." In order to have a level playing field, both sides have agreed to install a "managed divergence" mechanism, through which any side will have the right to retaliate, if it believes that the other side has gained unfair competitive advantage. Free trade in goods has also agreed in exchange for Britain's



assurances that it would not dash out subsidies to its firms and industries and it would not undercut the environmental and labour laws and rules. The EU Court of Justice has ceased to exert its adjudication over the UK and in case of any dispute, international law and its various bilateral or multilateral arbitration mechanisms would be invoked. Despite signing the trade deal, the overall volume of the trade will be restrained as businesses will have to face increased red-tapism, customs declarations, food certification, rules of origin and stringent local content requirements, etc. These bureaucratic restrictions would inevitably slow down the movement of goods.

The management of the border between Northern Ireland (which is part of the UK) and the Republic of Ireland has been the burning question throughout the transition period. Though the border is an international one, both sides have ensured that it remains an invisible border with no security check posts and customs formalities. The government of the Irish Republic - an EU member state - has shown consistently that the UK's divorce from the EU would eventually result in the enactment of stricter border-control measures. The TCA has come up with a unique solution to the border questions, Northern Ireland Protocol. Under this arrangement, EU rules will continue to apply in Northern Ireland and in case of any dispute, the European Court of Justice will have jurisdiction to adjudicate the matter falling within the geographical boundaries of Northern Ireland. The arrangement has ensured that there will not be any border-control measures between the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland, and the invisible border will remain the same. Customs checks will take place in the Irish Sea, and Northern Ireland will remain within the regulatory orbit of the EU. This special arrangement has been made to quell the misgivings of people of Northern Ireland who voted overwhelmingly to remain in the EU. The special status of Northern Ireland within the UK's sovereignty would mean that the idea of unification of Ireland would remain alive and the UK would face threats



to its territorial integrity.

Immigration is another issue that played a decisive role in the formulation of public opinion against the EU. The deal would stop the free movement of workers across the EU-UK border. The UK would have a point-based immigration mechanism wherein immigrants will have to fulfil certain criteria to enter Britain. The end of free movement would hurt the UK's services sector that accounts for around 80% of its economy. There would

no longer be automatic recognition of professional qualifications that will make it cumbersome and restricted for UK's professionals to offer their services to EU countries. Travelling for holidays remains visa-free but UK nationals will need a visa for a stay of more than 90 days. These new immigration rules would have direct impacts on labour markets and small and large businesses would find it harder and costlier to hire from the other side of the border.

London's reluctance to accept low-skilled workers would also result in staff shortage in the agriculture and care industries. More than 20% of labour in England's agriculture sector comes from overseas; obviously, the restricted flow of low-skilled workers is going to hurt the UK's vital agriculture and care industries.

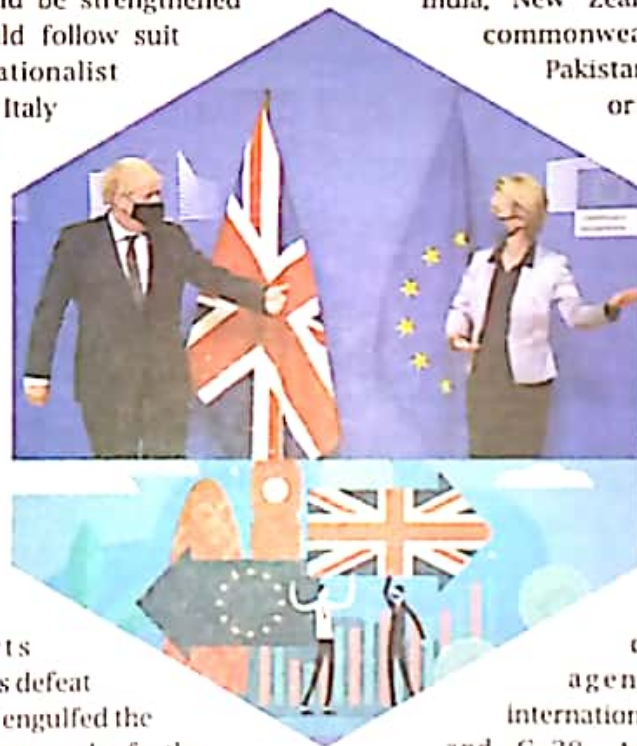
Fishing remained a deeply-contentious issue through the tumultuous Brexit years. Though fishing contributes less than 0.1% to the UK's economy, it was more or less a

symbolic sticking point to project England as the independent coastal state. At present, both the UK and EU fleets have access to UK waters for fishing. After the deal, 25% of the EU fleet's fishing rights will be transferred to England's by 2026. After that, there will be annual negotiations to determine the fishing rights and kind of species of fish to be caught in UK's waters. This arrangement has not resonated

well within the UK's fishing community that supported Brexit on the promise of taking back full control of UK's territorial waters and Exclusive Economic Zone.

This harder version of the Brexit deal is set to create consequences not only for the UK but also the world. The most immediate impact is the whipped-up nationalist tendencies in Scotland. A majority of Scots (62%) voted in

favour of the EU in the 2016 referendum, and Brexit has strengthened the independence calls there. Nicola Sturgeon, the First Minister of the Scottish Nationalist Party, which is working for the independence of Scotland, has stated that Scotland has the right to choose its future as an independent country, and regain the benefits of EU membership. The upcoming May 2021 regional election could help Nicola Sturgeon to gain an absolute majority in the Scottish Parliament and push for another independence referendum. The inability to influence the political decision-making at Westminster vis-à-vis Brexit has garnered popular support for Scottish independence and despite PM Johnson's assertion that referendum could be held once in a generation, the blatant disregard for popular aspirations of Scots would cost dearly to the UK. There were apprehensions that growing nationalism and populism across Europe would be strengthened and other EU countries would follow suit because all right-wing nationalist parties in France, Germany and Italy favour withdrawal from the EU and have staunchly anti-globalist political underpinnings. But turmoil and economic difficulties created by years leading up to Brexit seem to have unintended repercussions: dumping of anti-EU sentiment., In a Pew Research Center survey conducted in 10 European nations, almost 75% say that the EU promotes peace, and 55% believe it supports prosperity. In addition, Trump's defeat and the anarchy and chaos that engulfed the US Capitol on January 6, 2021, proved a further blow to the populist parties across Europe, thereby undermining their appeal. The countries that are experiencing a rising tide of populism and Euroscepticism have learned that abandoning the EU would have serious economic fallouts. The financial disruption that could have jolted countries in case they leave the Eurozone is too high to bear, even non-Eurozone nations like Hungary and Poland receive massive EU financial assistance that would continue to offset anti-EU tendencies. Hence, despite oft-repeated apprehensions, anti-EU sentiments would remain fringe elements and would not threaten the European Union in the near future. The UK is now eyeing a global role for itself to restore the eroded influence of England in international finance, security, trade and climate change. The year 2021 is going to provide an unprecedented opportunity for London to



arrest the fast decline of its influence. London is set to co-host the UN Conference on Climate Change (COP26) and G-7 Summit. These high-profile events would help Britain project its diplomatic and economic credentials effectively and rebuild its diminished role in international affairs due to political uncertainties surrounding Brexit.

Brexit would also create repercussions for UK-Pakistan bilateral trade and financial relations. The UK is the fifth-largest export destination of Pakistan. In 2019, the bilateral trade volume reached \$2.58 billion which tilted heavily in the favour of Pakistan. GSP+ status has been the major factor for ensuring trade surplus for Pakistan. In this regard, it is welcome news that England would continue providing GSP plus status to Pakistan's products in post-Brexit bilateral trade arrangement. The UK has also announced to negotiate economic relations with India, New Zealand, Kenya, Australia and other commonwealth countries. This could help Pakistan strike a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) or Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) with the UK in goods and services.

Untapped service potential, robust industrial and agriculture export base could help Pakistan dilute its products and market concentration. Strict compliance with sustainability standards (environment, business ethics, labour laws), sanitary and phytosanitary regulations would go a long way in seizing upon this historic opportunity created by Brexit.

The UK has an extensive diplomatic footprint and plays an agenda-setting role in various international institutions like NATO, UNSC, G-7 and G-20. As a major stakeholder in the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, as well as the World Trade Organization, it is playing a regulatory role in international finance. The UK is the sixth-largest economy and a well-acknowledged military power. The global influence of UK can be matched by a few countries. These facts underline the vital role that London can offer to reduce friction in international affairs and help the nationals to prioritize their resources for countering existential threats to humanity: climate change, proliferation of WMDs, pathogenic threats (like Covid-19). One can hope that the UK would continue to play a balancing role to maintain some semblance of international peace and security. ■

The writer is a graduate of the University of Agriculture, Faisalabad. He writes on national and international affairs.



Tensions Is a war inevitable?

Fraz Ali

The United States of America, the global superpower, has long maintained its global presence across the flashpoints of the world. From the Far East to the Middle East; from the Pacific to the Atlantic; from the islands of Taiwan to the Strait of Hormuz, the US naval carriers patrol international waters while its army defends its allies and its world view from the bogeymen of the world. After the sudden, yet surprising, end of the Cold War, the United States spread and enjoyed unprecedented influence on the global stage. Uncle Sam wanted to reshape the world in its own image: democratic, liberal and utterly capitalistic. America was on a mission to create a neoliberal utopia. Indeed, the road to hell is paved with good intentions. This quest for a new Pax Americana created few allies of the USA in the Middle East, and many rivals. One such rival is the Islamic Republic of Iran that has emerged as the arch-enemy of America. Doubly armed with faith and (prospective) weapons of mass destruction, the ancient Persian Empire is creating a new one, often referred to as the Shia crescent, in the Middle East. The expansion of Iranian influence creates new security dilemmas in a region that has never enjoyed collective security. President Donald Trump's militaristic foreign policy that relied on unabashed unilateralism further raised the stakes in an already charged environment. The two countries have been on the brink of a full-blown war. The cold war between them could turn hot. However, there are reasons to be optimistic. The American war machine has just witnessed a change in its

command. The future course of action will be determined by the hawks and doves on both sides.

In order to understand the world of today, one must look back at that of yesterday. Iran was once known as the policeman of the United States in the Middle East. Reza Shah Pahlavi ruled Iran with an iron fist. Oil wealth, unbridled powers and willingness to play second fiddle to American interests made Iran the partner of choice for the United States in the Middle East. There were various CIA stations operating from Iranian soil. However, this marriage of convenience could not last long and a wave of religious nationalism swept across Iran. The country was taken over by Ayotullah Khamenei – a diehard cleric who manifested the ideology of anti-Americanism in the region. Iran's first act was remarkably theatrical; students in Iran held 52 American diplomats in the US embassy in Tehran. This diplomatic standoff marked the beginning of a fierce rivalry between the newly-established Islamic Republic and the American establishment. Thus, an old ally, who erstwhile was protecting American interests, turned into a new challenge. This rivalry continues to haunt the already fragile prospects of peace in the Middle East. After having looked at its genesis, it is pertinent to explore the various events that further transformed this rivalry. Few events in the world ever change the fate of global politics as much as one single terrorist attack on American soil – 9/11 – did. The frantic sight of a commercial airliner crashing into the symbols of American power: the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon debunked the myth of 'invincibility' that has been one of the hallmarks of

American foreign policy. Starting with its war of revenge in Afghanistan, America acted like a bull in the Middle Eastern china shop. It not only came up with a moniker for its war known as the Global War on Terror (GWOt) but also applied old titles to new rivals. Iran was conspicuously included in the 'axis of evil' - a new group of, rogue states, that posed the greatest threat to American interests at home and abroad. Iran's extending of an olive branch was spurned, and it was sanctioned and stigmatized with unprecedented fervour. In a nutshell, the beginning of the global war on terror set the stage for a protracted cold war between the two rivals. Although America did not openly attack Iran, it unleashed a fearsome war in its immediate neighbourhood. On flimsy grounds and dubious reports, America launched a firm and decisive war in Iraq. It wished merely not to replace one dictator with another; it wanted to install democracy in Iraq. The ouster of Saddam Hussein - the leader that maintained the balance of power with Iran - and the new Shia government in Iraq created the perfect storm for the USA.

Iran now found an ally in a country that once challenged its very existence with an eight-year-long, gruelling war. The United States, in a bid to neutralize threats to its interests, empowered the country that openly chants "Death to America". The balance of power now tilted towards Iran that, starting with Iraq, set its sight on conquering the entire Middle East through allies and proxies. Therefore, paradoxically, a war meant to raze American enemies raised the status of its existing ones.

Having witnessed the American war machine ravaging the Middle East, Iran felt the need to resort to the classical realist principle of self-help in order to protect its interests, and ward off imperialistic enemies in its neighbourhood. Iran has always been aware of its conventional asymmetry with the USA. It faced both the collective weight of American ire, and animosity of Sunni monarchs of Gulf states. It was convinced that in order to survive in a hostile neighbourhood, it needed dangerous weapons for deterrence. Thus, Iran embarked on its journey to acquire nuclear weapons. It flouted the

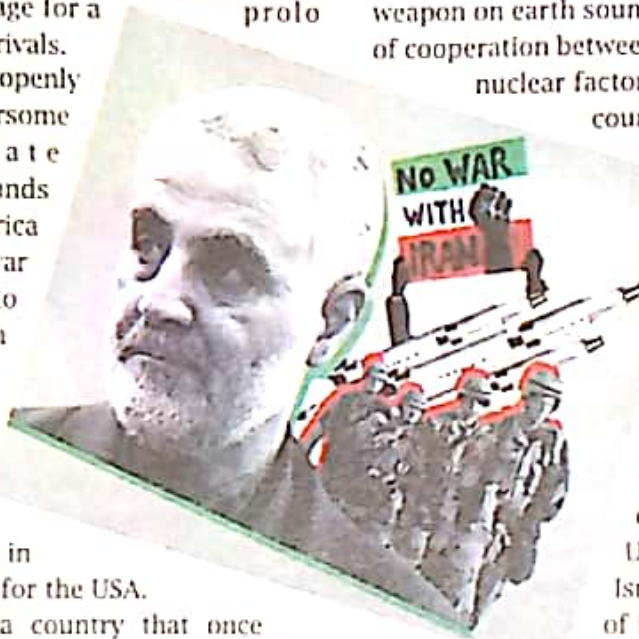
international norms of nuclear non-proliferation enshrined in the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). This prospect of a radical anti-American regime wielding nuclear weapons raised alarm bells in the White House. United States' enemy now aspired to be the one with nuclear weapons. This changed US-Iran relations forever. Both countries locked horns and the gulf between them widened further. Iran was made an international pariah state, and ever more sanctions were slapped on it by the USA. Thus, the Iranian desire to wield the deadliest weapon on earth sounded the death knell of any chances of cooperation between the USA and Iran. Apart from the nuclear factor, the relationship between the two

countries is further exacerbated by the inexplicable camaraderie between Israel and America. The oldest democracy in the world, i.e. USA, gave a licence to kill to the only democracy in the Middle East, i.e. Israel, which operates with impunity within its territory and beyond, all with the blessings of Washington DC. Iran singles out opposition towards Israel and the USA, and its nefarious axis with Israel, as one of the defining features of its foreign policy. The espousal of Pan-Islamism by Iran further adds fuel

to the raging fire within its upper echelons to free the Middle East from the imperialist claws of Israel and the USA. Israeli reign of terror over the land of Palestine, its occupation of Islam's second holiest sites in Jerusalem, and its revisionist desires to establish the "Greater Israel" puts it directly at loggerheads with Iran. The overt US backing of Israel to achieve its objectives adds

another dimension to Iranian-American rivalry, and any war between Israel and Iran is bound to suck the USA into this conflagration. And there are many instances where the two powerful countries of the Middle East could go to war.

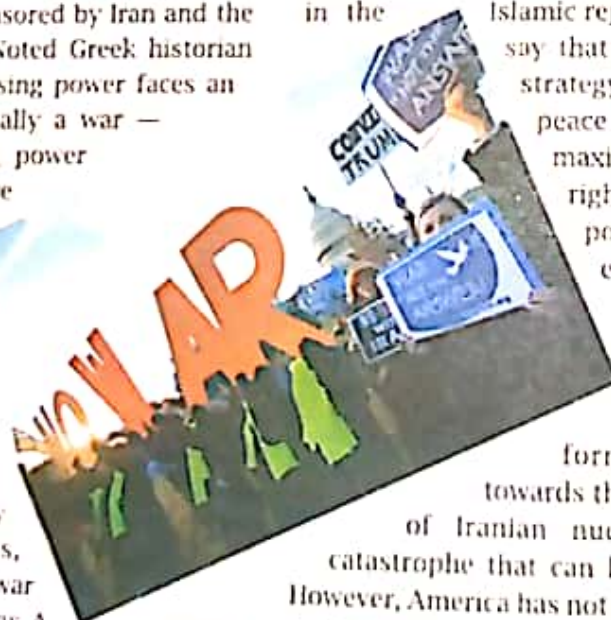
The prospects of war between Israel and Iran are high, owing to the geographical proximity between the two, and the expansionist tendencies of both the budding republics. Iran has continued its meteoric rise ever since Iraq was attacked, and now it rules the Middle Eastern roost. The countries that neighbour Israel are firmly



under Iranian influence. From Bashar al-Assad in Syria to Hezbollah in Lebanon, from popular mobilization forces in Iraq to Hamas in Palestine, Iran has encircled Israel. Using its military and paramilitary forces, it has raised many a security dilemma for Israel. Any attack from either side has the potential to turn into an all-out war as exemplified in the words of the former Israeli Defence Minister Avigdor Lieberman, "If it rains in Israel, there will be a biblical flood on the other side." It would not be wrong to say that once the floodgates open, the US will not be able to stem the flow of missiles and bullets, but would be a party to the violence in favour of Israel. Thus, it can be reiterated that the US-Israel nexus will push the US into a bitter war with Iran in the event of an Israeli-Iranian war. However, Iranians face not only Israel in the Middle East; there are other actors on the stage as well. The battleground of the world—the Middle East—features an apparent religious schism between two sects of Islam, and two different political entities. On the one hand are the Sunni Gulf monarchies, whose absolute monarchs—the last of their kind—are ironically supported by the champion of democracy – USA – while on the other is an ideological Shia state that features a hierarchy of clerics. The situation can be best understood if one uses a historical lens to analyze the current orgy of wars and skirmishes in the Middle East sponsored by Iran and the Gulf states against one another. Noted Greek historian Thucydides opined that when a rising power faces an established one, the result is usually a war — Thucydides Trap. Iran is a rising power whereas the Gulf monarchies are established ones, all vying to halt each other's advances and maintain their lead in the geopolitical competition on the chessboard of the Middle East. Considering that the Gulf monarchies have long served American interests, and have deep pockets that they often turn to buy American soldiers and weapons, America would be inclined to wage a war on Iran to protect these crony monarchs. A case in point is the recent attack on Aramco facilities in Saudi Arabia. Although America didn't retaliate against Iran for its misadventure, it still issued a fair share of warnings to the country. Therefore, it can be asserted that



fun of that. The activity and allowed it to reintegrate into the global economy. The undoing of the deal by President Trump further emboldened the hawks in Iran who never saw compromise with America as a viable option, and re-energized the Iranian nuclear program. Furthermore, under his signature "maximum pressure strategy," President Trump has slapped wave after wave of sanctions on Iran in a bid to force it to change its behaviour. He also had openly called for regime change in the Islamic republic. It would not be wrong to



say that under his maximum pressure strategy, the president has put the peace of the Middle East under maximum strain. Albert Einstein rightly remarked, "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and thus we drift towards unparalleled catastrophe." The severing of the Iranian-US ties, former's renewed belligerence towards the latter, and the re-emergence of Iranian nuclear program is indeed a catastrophe that can lead to a deadly US-Iran war. However, America has not confined itself to the economic and diplomatic arenas when it comes to countering Iran; it has left its military options open. On the military front, Donald Trump asserted that America's weapons were locked and loaded, ready to retaliate against Iran. The situation soon escalated with

a civil war in the Middle Eastern neighbourhood has the potential to draw the United States into the middle of the ring. Not only the monarchs of the Middle East, but the Republicans in the White House also contributed towards bringing the USA on the brink of a war with Iran. The United States of America is used to minor quakes, but the election of President Donald Trump, in 2016, sent shockwaves across the world. The president of the

world's most powerful country used his bully pulpit to openly demonize Iran and cast it as the greatest cause of

instability in the Middle East. Having blown his own trumpet in his book,

"The Art of the Deal," and claiming that only he knows how to strike the best deals,

President Trump claimed that the existing nuclear deal with Iran—Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)—was

damentally flawed, and walked out deal had restrained Iranian nuclear

activity and allowed it to reintegrate into the global economy. The undoing of the deal by President

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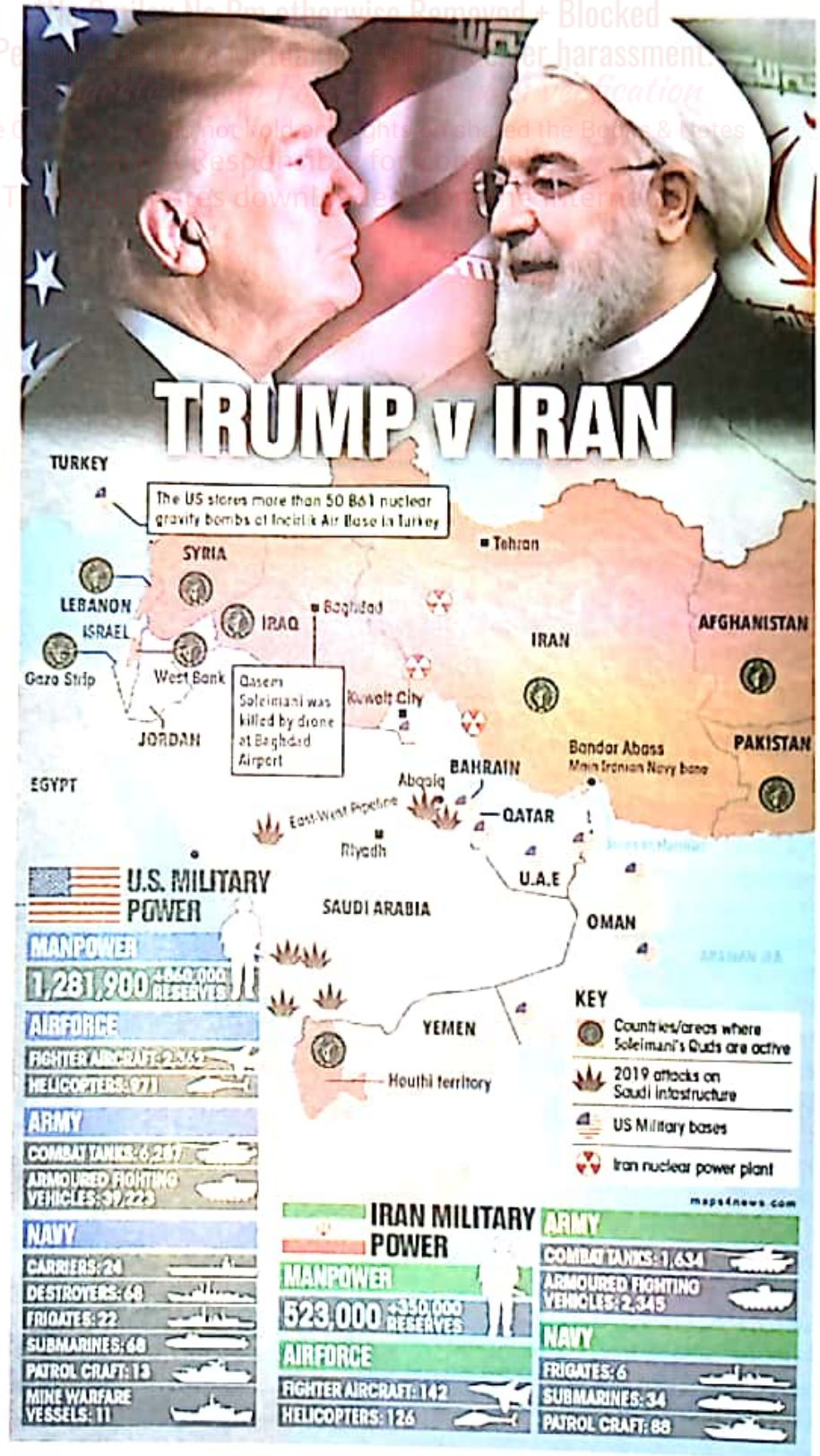
the assassination of Major General Qassem Soleimani, commander of the Quds Force of Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps. Iran lost one of its best. This seemed like the last straw that would break the camel's back. The use of illegal American force on foreign soil enraged the top Iranian leadership, and thus Iran vowed to retaliate at a time and place of its own choosing. And, it did so; Iran fired missiles at a military base in Iraq. The world watched with horror as the events unfolded bringing the two sabre rattling countries ever so close to a devastating war.

However, there are reasons to be optimistic. The occurrence of the war between Iran and USA is not set in stone. As Hegel famously said, "The only constant is change," the recent election in the oldest democracy of the world has rekindled the hope of a responsible American leadership; one that denounces brinkmanship and unilateralism for statesmanship and multilateralism. President-elect Joe Biden reassured the world that he would honour American commitments and reenter the nuclear deal with Iran. He has denounced the Trumpian mentality that claimed that a handful of might is better than a bagful of right. Thus, with the inauguration of President Joe Biden as the new American leader, one can also expect a change in American attitude towards Iran. The situation is ripe for the picking. The United States of America can lead from the front, and trade can, once again, trumpet over war. Thus, it can be said that the Middle East is not destined for war. President Joe Biden brings with him a new ray of hope for the dark and gloomy arena of the Middle East.

In a nutshell, it can be recapitulated that the USA and Iran have been historic rivals. Their rivalry has seen many downs, and few ups. There are a plethora of factors that has fanned the fire of rivalry between Iran and USA including the existing alliances in the Middle East, the prevailing ideology in Iran, Iranian quest for deadly nuclear weapons, and the unabashed militarism of the now-former President Donald Trump. The only thing that is certain about the relationship between Iran and USA is

uncertainty. Given the turn of events, war could knock at the door of the Middle East sooner than later. However, the two countries are not necessarily destined for war. The new commander in chief of the US army would be well advised to remember the advice rendered by Bertrand Russel, "War does not determine who is right - only who is left." 

The writer is a civil servant.



Whose Post-Pandemic Century?

In the early stages of the Covid-19 pandemic, it was common to divide countries and their responses according to their political systems, with many attributing China's success in controlling the virus to its authoritarianism. As of late 2020, however, it became clear that the real dividing line is not political, but geographical. Regardless of whether a country is democratic or authoritarian, an island or continental, Confucian or Buddhist, communitarian or individualistic, if it is East Asian, Southeast Asian or Australasian, it has managed Covid-19 better than any European or North American country.

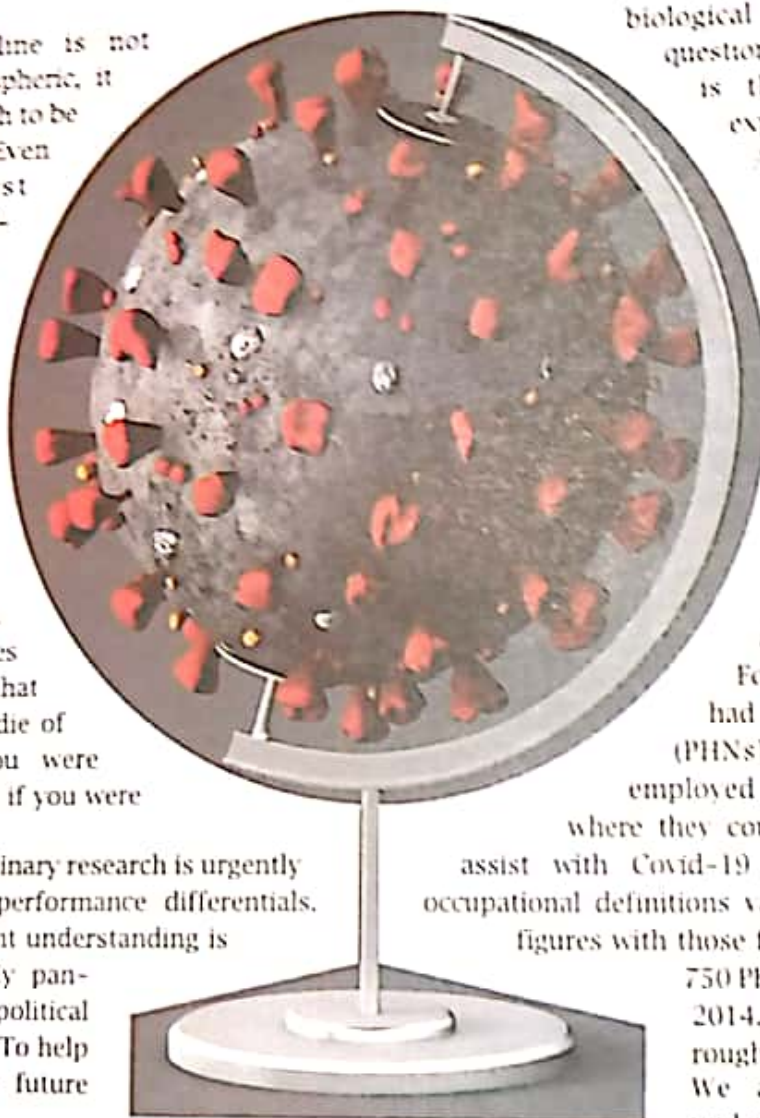
Bill Emmott



While this line is not exactly hemispheric, it is close enough to be suggestive. Even Asia's worst

performers (in public-health terms)—such as the Philippines and Indonesia—controlled the pandemic more effectively than did Europe's biggest and wealthiest countries. Notwithstanding reasonable doubts about the quality and accuracy of the reported mortality data in the case of the Philippines and India, the fact remains that you were much likelier to die of Covid-19 in 2020 if you were European or American than if you were Asian.

Comprehensive, interdisciplinary research is urgently needed to explain these performance differentials. Because much of our current understanding is anecdotal and insufficiently pan-regional, it is vulnerable to political exploitation and distortion. To help all countries prepare for future



biological threats, several specific questions need to be explored. First is the extent to which the experience of SARS, MERS,

Avian flu, and other disease outbreaks in many Asian countries left a legacy of health-system preparedness and public receptiveness to anti-transmission messaging. Clearly, some Asian countries have benefited from existing structures designed to prevent outbreaks of tuberculosis, cholera, typhoid, HIV/AIDS, and other infectious diseases.

For example, as of 2014, Japan had 48,452 public-health nurses (PHNs), 7,266 of whom were employed in public-health centres where they could be mobilised quickly to assist with Covid-19 contact tracing. Although occupational definitions vary, one can compare these figures with those for England, where just 350-750 PHNs served 11,000 patients in 2014. (England's population is roughly half the size of Japan's.) We also will need a better understanding of the effect of

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specific policies, such as rapidly closing borders and suspending international travel. Likewise, some countries did a much better job than others at protecting care homes and other facilities for the elderly—especially in countries notably Japan and South Korea with a high proportion of people over 65. Moreover, the effectiveness of public-health communications clearly varied across countries, and it is possible that genetic differences and past programmes of anti-tuberculosis vaccination may have helped limit the spread of the coronavirus in some areas. Only with rigorous empirical research will we have the information we need to prepare for future threats. Many are also wondering what Asia's relative success will mean for public policy-making and geopolitics after the pandemic. If future historians want a precise date for when the "Asian Century" began, they may be tempted to choose 2020, just as the US publisher Henry Luce dated the "American Century" from the onset of World War II.

But this particular comparison suggests that any such judgement may be premature. After all, Luce's America was an individual superpower. Emerging victorious from the war, it would go on to claim and define its era (in competition with another superpower, the Soviet Union). The Asian Century, by contrast, will feature an entire continent comprising a wide range of countries. In other words, it is not simply about China. To be sure, the rising new superpower has been notably successful in coping with the pandemic after its initial failures and lack of transparency. But its scope for asserting systemic superiority is circumscribed by the fact that so many other Asian countries have been equally successful without Chinese assistance.

The post-war comparison also may be premature for economic reasons. Asian countries' economic performance in 2020 did not match the success of their pandemic response. While Vietnam, China and Taiwan have beaten the rest of the world in terms of GDP growth, the United States has not fared too badly,

despite its failure to manage the virus. With forecasts pointing to a 3.6% contraction for the year, the US is in better shape than every European economy, as well as Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines and others in Asia. The difference is largely a function of interconnectedness: compared to the US,

many Asian economies are more exposed to trade and travel bans, which cut deeply into the tourism industry.

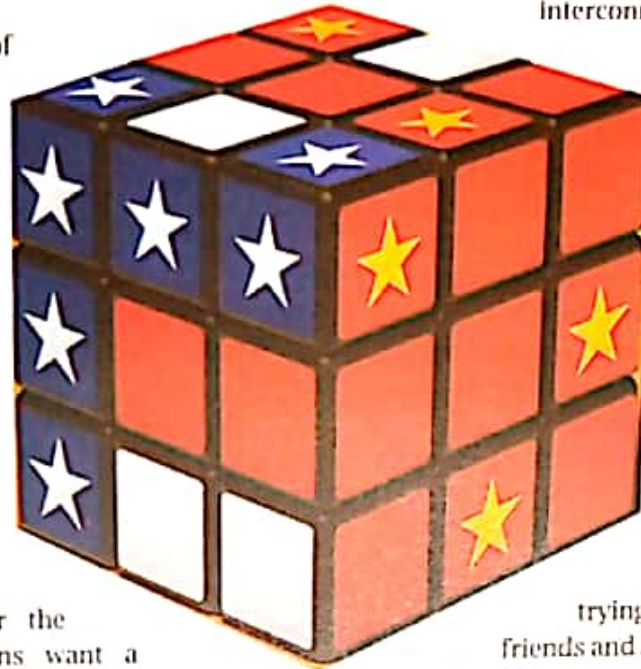
Although China's public-health and economic outcomes have been better than the West's in 2020, it has neither found nor really sought a political or diplomatic advantage from the crisis. If anything, China has become more aggressive toward nearby neighbours and countries like Australia. This suggests that Chinese leaders are not even

trying to build an Asian network of friends and supporters.

How China approaches the issue of international debt restructurings—especially those connected with its Belt and Road Initiative—will be a key test in 2021. But, of course, the US and the rest of the West also will be tested, and on a wide range of issues, from international finance to sociopolitical stability.

It may be too soon to announce a new historical epoch; but it is not too early to start absorbing the lessons of Asia's public-health successes. ■

*Bill Emmott, a former editor-in-chief of The Economist, is the author of 'The Fate of the West'.
Courtesy: Project Syndicate*



EU-China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment

A solid step towards stronger trade relations

Aftab Abbasi



China and the European Union (EU) managed to wrap up 2020 by signing a trade deal, namely "Comprehensive Agreement on Investment" (CAI). The agreement is being seen as another great geopolitical win for China after the Regional Comprehensive

Economic Partnership (RCEP), a 15-nation trade bloc. The EU, in agreeing to tie its economic interests with China, maybe less swayed by American efforts to contain China. As a third major world power, the EU is a critical partner for both China and the United States in their contest. Top EU officials, accompanied by German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President Emmanuel Macron, joined Chinese President Xi Jinping in a video exchange, welcoming a range of sector-by-sector commitments for the world's two major economies under a "values-based investment relationship." It took seven years of sustained negotiations to successfully conclude the deal by the turn of 2020, a stated deadline.

The CAI leaves the door open for Europe's unprecedented market access to China, increased manufacturing and financial sector cooperation with the Asian country, as well as a range of mutually negotiated investment, trade, labour and competition safeguards that strike at the heart of an enduring, rules-based economic relationship. In terms of greater market access, China delivered on its promise of expanding the net of European business operations in the country by supporting investment footprints in sectors such as real estate, manufacturing, electric cars, finance, international maritime transport, telecom cloud services, construction services and airline reservation systems. Some of these sectors, based on government statistics as well as international estimates, are among the most rapidly expanding and lucrative domains of investment in the world, with a hefty stake in China's overall record-breaking foreign direct investment surge this year.

Through CAI, they afford even more fertile ground to scale up business operations of pre-existing European firms in China, as well as scores of European investors desirous of high-capacity production

in the world's second-largest economy.

Purpose of the deal

Since the launch of the project in 2013, the CAI was intended to increase investment between the EU and China by establishing a legal framework and common rules on issues ranging from state-owned enterprises to



On December 30, European Union and Chinese leaders concluded their marathon negotiations for a landmark investment pact named 'EU-China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment'. Analysts are terming this deal a huge diplomatic win for Beijing just days before the inauguration of Joe Biden, as it came who had vowed to form an alliance with allies in challenging China, as US president. The deal gives businesses from both regions greater access to each other's markets. It will be the first agreement to set obligations for the behaviour of state-owned enterprises and comprehensive transparency rules for subsidies.

subsidy transparency. The deal aims to replace more than two dozen bilateral investment treaties between the EU's 27 member states and China, according to official EU policy explanations.

For the EU, creating a "level playing field" with China has been the key phrase in its messaging.

Brussels and European businesses planned for the deal to remove market access limitations, including China's licensing requirements and limits to

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foreign ownership in certain sectors.

China, for its part, has raised objections with Europe's tightening of its foreign investment screening policies in recent years, increasing suspicion over Chinese buying firms in what Europe sees as strategic sectors.

Different from other recent deals?

The EU said this investment deal with China aimed to be ambitious and covered a wide range of issues. It said the US-China phase one trade deal signed in January last year failed to deal with structural issues in the Chinese economy, and European firms were left feeling frozen out by the deal.

The CAI is unlike the US-China phase one agreement that

even if China and the EU can sign a deal, the CAI will face a number of challenges from the EU parliament.

Benefits for the EU

The deal tackles a number of EU grievances, including the longstanding concerns that the bloc's companies are being forced to share valuable technological know-how in exchange for being allowed to compete on the Chinese market, along with fears that the country's state-owned enterprises are unfairly favoured and that the Chinese system of state subsidies is opaque. It will significantly improve the level playing field for EU investors, including by prohibiting forced technology transfers and other distortive practices. Other parts of the deal concern specific sector-by-sector market access rights, removing barriers such as requirements for companies to have partnerships with local firms in joint ventures, and eliminating caps on levels of investment.

The areas, where EU companies will win enhanced access rights, include the automotive sector, telecoms equipment, cloud computing, private healthcare and ancillary services for air transport. The deal will also put the EU on the same footing as the US when it comes to operating in the Chinese financial services market.

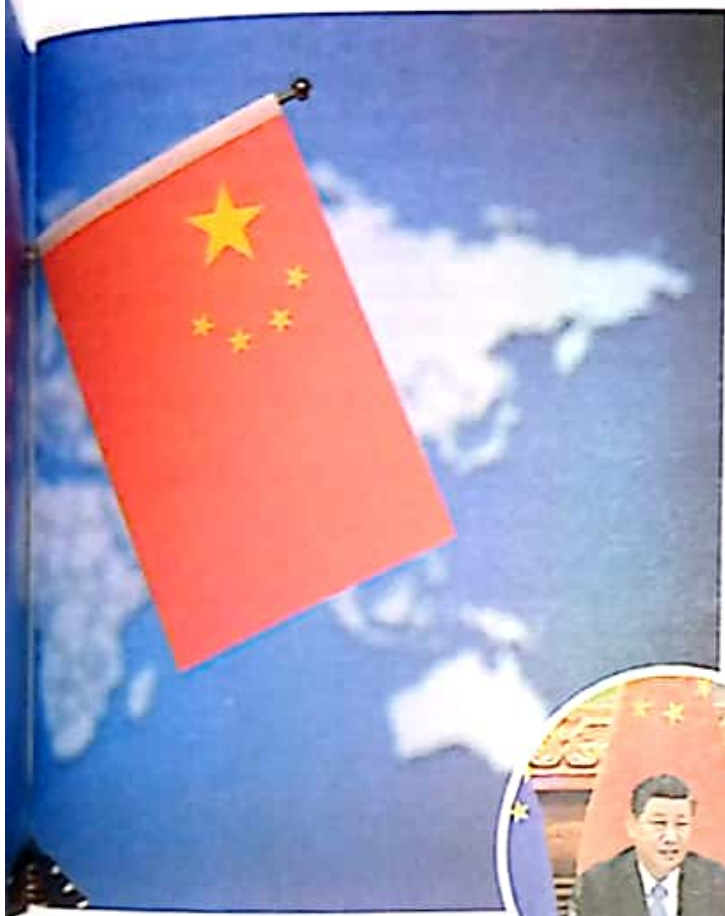
President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen said: "Today's agreement is an important landmark in our relationship with China and for our values-based trade agenda. It will provide unprecedented access to the Chinese market for European investors, enabling our businesses to grow and create jobs. It will also commit China to ambitious principles on sustainability, transparency and non-discrimination. The agreement will rebalance our economic relationship with China".

Executive Vice-President and Commissioner for Trade, Valdis Dombrovskis, said: "This deal will give European businesses a major boost in one of the world's biggest and fastest-growing markets, helping them to operate and compete in China. It also anchors our values-based trade agenda with one of our largest trading partners. We have secured binding commitments on the environment, climate change and combatting forced labour. We will engage closely with China to ensure that all commitments are honoured fully."

What China gets

For China, the deal is good diplomacy: the newly-inaugurated Biden administration in the US has made clear that it wants to build an alliance of democracies to put pressure on Beijing over both its human rights record and aggressive trade practices. The deal on the investment treaty strengthens ties with Brussels at a pivotal moment.

China entered the talks with fewer market access goals than the EU, which argued that it was the victim of an unlevel playing field. Still, the deal locks in existing rights for Chinese companies in the EU market at a time when the



not only demands greater market access for US companies but also holds Beijing to buying American goods, from agriculture to manufacturing, including some at the expense of purchases from Europe. Nor is it similar to the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) trade deal signed between China and 14 other countries - the world's largest free-trade agreement. RCEP streamlines rules and standards of trade to encourage the flow of goods and services, but not specifically investment. EU insists it wants to start talks about a bilateral free-trade agreement after the investment deal is done. But

EU is looking to expand its legal arsenal against unfair foreign competition.

It also offers China new openings in manufacturing and the growing EU market for renewable energy.

EU officials stress that the market opening on renewables is limited (capped at 5 percent for each EU member state market) and contingent on reciprocal openness from China.

Calling the investment agreement between China and the European Union (EU) as "balanced, high-standard and mutually beneficial," Xi said the treaty has shown China's determination and confidence to push high-level opening up.

"The agreement will provide greater market access, higher level of business environment, stronger institutional guarantees and brighter cooperation prospects for mutual investment," Xi said.

The treaty will also greatly boost world economic recovery in the post-pandemic era, enhance the international community's confidence in economic globalization and free trade, making significant contributions to the building of an open world economy, the Chinese president said.

US-EU relations post-CAI

The EU has taken a risk by pushing ahead, particularly in the light of its parallel efforts to revive the transatlantic relationship after severe tensions during Donald Trump's presidency.

Just a few weeks ago, it publicly urged the US to join it in an alliance to assert the interests of the democratic world against "authoritarian powers" and to meet the "strategic challenge" posed by China.

Critics say the EU deal undermines that call for partnership; the EU insists that it is merely winning similar trade benefits to those established in the so-called "Phase 1" trade deal struck by President Trump with Beijing. The EU also argues that the deal can help other countries be more assertive in their dealings with China by establishing a new reference point in terms of commitments from Beijing.

Impact on EU's China strategy

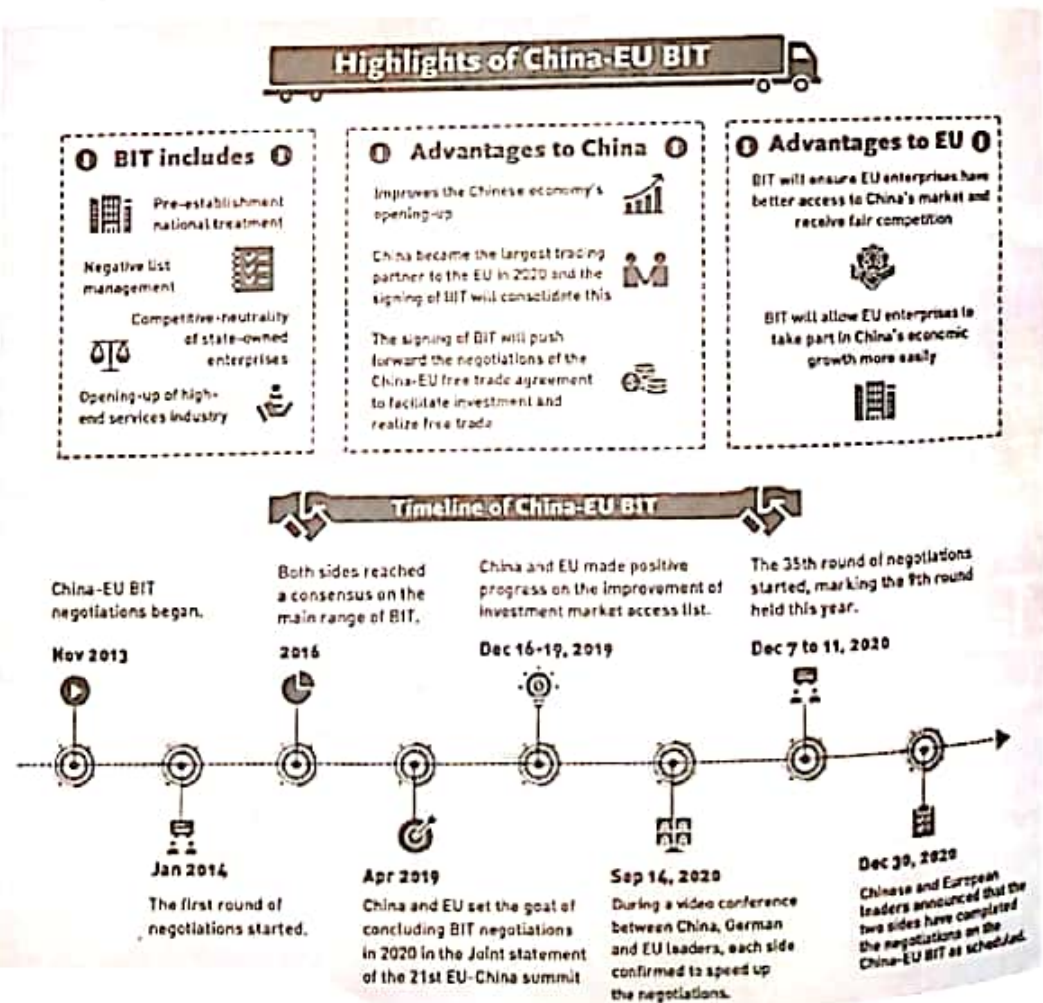
Critics believe that the impact of the CAI on the EU's China

strategy is large and negative. It robs the EU of a huge leverage in dealing with China. The mindset it embodies locks the EU in an asymmetric game, the end outcome of which is "China defects and the EU cooperates." The fate of the CAI will resemble those of the Sino-British pact on Hong Kong's "one country, two systems" and the WTO admission of China. All these three pacts share the same strategic structure. Because China's objective in these games is geopolitical gain while that of its counterpart is China's cooperation, the games' outcomes conform to China's objective. This situation is, perhaps, the "peace-lover's dilemma" because its strategic structure ensures the dominance of the more aggressive player.

Conclusion

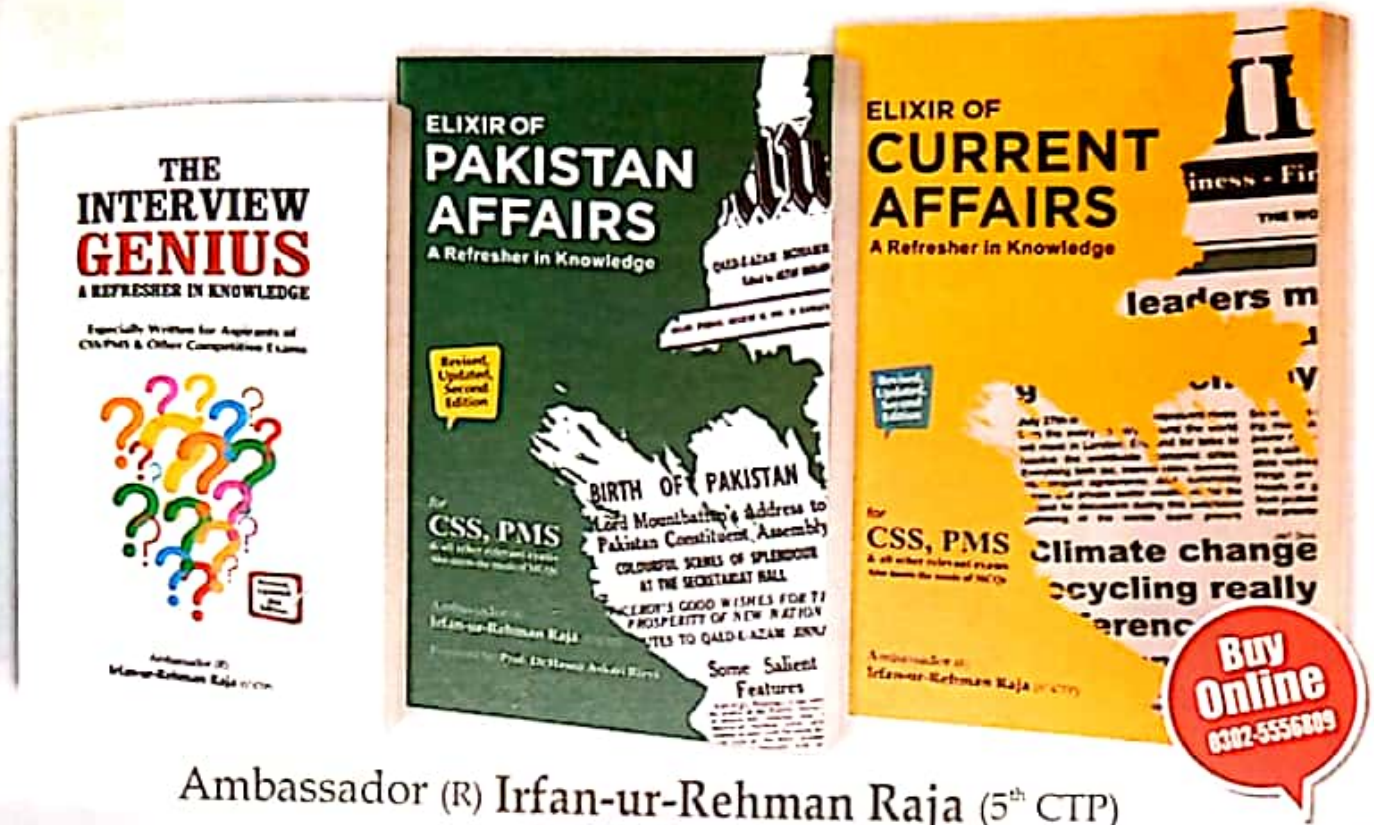
The agreement comes just when the world is undergoing momentous changes not seen in a century amid the Covid-19 pandemic, when countries have locked down and the global economy is sluggish. In addition, the rise of anti-globalization, unilateralism, trade protectionism and Sino-US trade friction has increased the instability of the international environment. Against this complex international background, adhering to the concept of a community with a shared future for mankind and actively seeking mutually beneficial and win-win cooperation is the only right path. ■

The writer is a member of staff.



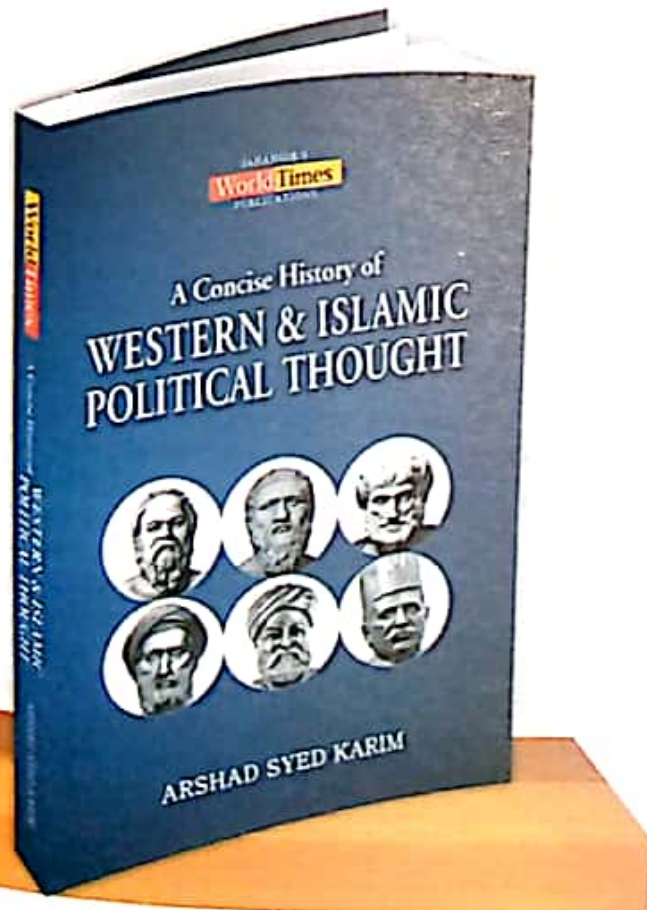
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- Jeremy Bentham
- John Stuart Mill
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POLITICAL THOUGHT: ISLAMIC

- Al-Farabi
- Al-Mawardi
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- Al-Ghazzali
- Ibn Khaldun
- Allama Muhammad Iqbal

KSA-Qatar Reconciliation

SAUDI ARABIA

OMAN

YEMEN

Saudi Arabia announced, on January 04, the restoration of ties with Qatar after the three-and-a-half-year spat whereby the Saudi kingdom, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Egypt had cut diplomatic and trade ties and imposed a land, sea and air blockade on Doha. A day later, Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman warmly embraced Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani of Qatar at the Saudi Al Ula airport in what can be called a picture-perfect scene of brotherhood. The Qatari Emir attended the 41st summit of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)—the first summit since 2017. At the end of the summit, Gulf leaders signed a "solidarity and stability" agreement that marked the end of a highly destructive diplomatic rift which lasted longer than many in the region expected.

Dr M. Usmani

Perhaps the biggest news of the past month from the Gulf region is that the Arab nations that kept Qatar blockaded for more than three years have lifted the boycott and Doha, in response, froze all state-related legal action against the countries.

Background

In June 2014, four member states of the GCC — Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt — abruptly severed ties with the Gulf state of Qatar, closed their borders, and shut their airspace to Qatari aeroplanes, after accusing it of supporting terrorism, among other allegations. The quartet also accused Doha of being too close to Iran and supporting "terrorist" groups. They issued a list of demands, which included that Doha end its alleged support for the Muslim Brotherhood, close Al Jazeera Media Network, downgrade diplomatic ties with Iran, and shut down a Turkish military base in Qatar. They said that Qatar must comply with these for the air, land and sea blockade to be lifted. Qatar vehemently denied the allegations and accused its neighbours of attacking its sovereignty.

Qatar's response

Qatar vehemently denied the unsubstantiated allegations and stood its ground. The country strengthened its ties with Iran and Turkey in the last three and a half years and has emerged from this crisis—the worst in the history of the GCC in the last couple

of decades—stronger and more resilient. From day one, acknowledging the fact that the crisis can only be resolved with the approval of the Saudi leadership, Qatar's Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani did a wise thing: he refrained from criticising King Salman or his son, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman. Similarly, he called on all his representatives and the Qatari people at large not to trade back the low rhetoric generating from some corners within the blockading countries. Thanks to this pragmatic approach, when the right conditions for ending the blockade emerged, Riyadh did not see any shame in swiftly re-establishing full diplomatic relations with Doha.

with the Trump administration throughout the crisis but also ensured that it will remain an important partner to the US under the incoming Biden administration. Qatar's reasoned response to the crisis, and commitment to international law and cooperation, led several countries that initially backed the blockade, such as Jordan and Senegal, to change course and restore relations with the Gulf emirate.

2. American pressure

Some analysts claim that the reconciliation seems imposed on the Saudis, UAE and Egypt by the Trump administration as a last-ditch attempt to leave a Camp



Qatar also continued to supply gas to the UAE through the Dolphin Gas Project throughout the crisis, clearly demonstrating that it is not willing to make any moves that would irreparably harm its relations with its neighbours.

Reasons behind rapprochement

A number of factors can be enumerated as key reasons behind this rapprochement, some important are as under:

1. Qatar's measured and rational approach

Rather than getting into a tit-for-tat battle with its neighbours, Qatar chose to seek justice in international courts. This level-headed strategy paid off, with Qatar securing legal victories against blockading nations in international courts on issues ranging from human rights and airspace violations to intellectual property rights.

Qatar also assumed a rational and moderate stance on the international arena, investing in multilateral cooperation with a wide range of partners. Despite the Trump administration initially supporting the blockade, for example, Doha continued to cooperate with the United States on key issues, including supporting its drawdown from Afghanistan by mediating the Afghan peace process.

This not only allowed Qatar to remain in close contact

David-style legacy at the end of Trump's tenure. The incumbent US president's son-in-law has taken a keen interest in the affairs of the Middle East in the last four years and has tried, and failed, on multiple occasions to make a mark of his own.

From a preposterous USD 50 billion plan for "a vision to empower the Palestinian people to build a prosperous and vibrant Palestinian society" disclosed at the Manama Workshop in 2019 that went nowhere, to coercing countries to "normalise" ties with Israel, Kushner has tried various means to push forward the Trump administration's agenda for an "Israel First" and Israel-friendly Middle East policy, with the backing of the Saudi-UAE axis. Having failed at fully achieving this objective—the Saudis are yet to normalise ties with Israel—the Trump administration needed to make one last face-saving attempt. With greater control over the Saudis and the Emiratis, major players in

the Qatar diplomatic crisis, resolving the GCC dispute was perhaps the most feasible.

In mid-November 2020, US National Security Adviser Robert O'Brien asserted that for the US, it was a "priority" to resolve the Qatar blockade issue, adding "I would like to



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see that get done before—if we end up leaving office—I'd like to see that get done in the next 70 days. And I think there's a possibility for it."

And in less than 70 days, Saudi Arabia, UAE and Egypt—staunch critics of Qatar—agreed to not only shake hands with the country but embrace it, at least superficially.

3. Economic losses

Major challenges and risks afflicting the region also prompted practical steps towards the Gulf reconciliation. Saudi Arabia's challenges in Yemen, Iraq and Syria, relations with Iran and the kingdom's pressuring economic situation have all created a serious political will to end the dispute and resolve the crisis. Over the past three years, both Riyadh and Doha experienced major losses due to the decline in energy prices and the



coronavirus pandemic. After three and a half years, every side has paid a heavy price for this crisis, and both sides came to the conviction that there is no point in continuing. Rather, the continuation of the crisis will cause severe losses for the GCC as a whole.

The GCC has also been badly paralyzed by the Gulf rift as the bloc has lost a great deal of influence with the GCC countries failing to work as a single body.

4. Biden's win

With the Joe Biden administration determined to restore relations with Iran, the Arab quartet saw the importance of restoring a measure of Gulf unity. Qatar might be pleased that it has successfully stood up to pressures, but it can't afford a permanent conflict with its Gulf Arab neighbours.

The long-term impact of the blockade

The blockade undoubtedly harmed Qatar's economy. It was forced to inject \$43bn from its sovereign funds into banks in order to stabilise its currency during the financial crisis triggered in the first few months of the blockade.

The blockade's negative impact on Qatar's economy, which was already under pressure due to the immense development project it embarked on in preparation for the 2022 FIFA World Cup, was exacerbated by other global crises that have hit the region during this period, such as

the Covid-19 recession and the oil crisis it triggered in 2020. Leading Qatari companies also suffered due to these crises, with Qatar Airways alone admitting to a \$5bn loss. Despite these considerable losses, however, Qatar also managed to use the blockade as an opportunity to develop greater self-sufficiency, which was long overdue given the intrinsic vulnerabilities of its resource-based economy. During the blockade, the country has made strides towards becoming more resilient in many areas from food security to international policy.

The blockade has also reinforced social cohesion and resilience in Qatar. In response to the blockade, Qataris rallied around the Emir and repeatedly demonstrated their support for the ruling monarchy.

Meanwhile, the authorities used the blockade as an opportunity to resolve societal problems that have long been attracting criticism from both Qataris and the international community. They partnered with the International Labour Organization to reform the Kafala system and pursue alternative methods of regulating foreign residency in the country.

What's next?

The rifts created between the peoples of these nations are unlikely to heal anytime soon. The people of Qatar have had to face dire challenges due to the blockade. "It is infringing on the right to free expression, separating families, interrupting medical care—in one case forcing a child to miss a scheduled brain surgery, interrupting education, and stranding migrant workers without food or water," said Human Rights Watch in 2017, expressing concern over the situation in Qatar after the blockade.

If anything, mistrust and scepticism are likely to prevail—at least in the short to medium terms. And on all sides. After all, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Bahrain and Egypt had previously, in February 2014, severed diplomatic ties with Qatar over the country's stance on the toppling of the Morsi government in 2013. And there is no guarantee that given the chance, the countries in the future won't resort to coercive tactics to subdue Qatar's growing influence in the region although this time it would only be more difficult. And under the Biden administration, the relationship between the US and Saudi Arabia is likely to be more transactional in nature.

But given the intricate geopolitical mosaic of the puzzle that is the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), and the vested interests of the US in the region, things are as transient in nature as it can get.

Conclusion

While ending the feud is welcome, it cannot be overlooked that this unnecessary crisis was born out of an ill-thought-out Saudi-Emirati strategy of coercion. It reflects poorly on them. They should learn from the mistakes and build ties based on mutual interests and cooperation, not on threats and coercion. ■

The author is an academician.

Jurisdiction under UNCLOS of 1982

Whose sea is it anyway?

To comprehend the starting point from which any water bodies are measured, the concept of baseline comes into play. As per Articles 5 and 7(1) of UNCLOS III, there are two types of baselines: normal and straight. Per Article 5, "The normal baseline for measuring the breadth of the territorial sea is the low-water line along the coast as marked on large-scale charts." Normal baselines can only be adopted if there are no complications along the coast, such as deeply indented coastlines, or islands along the coastline in its immediate vicinity.

Per Article 7(1) of UNCLOS III, "In localities where the coastline is deeply indented and cut into, or if there is a fringe of islands along the coast in its immediate vicinity, the method of straight baselines joining appropriate points may be employed in drawing the baseline from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured."

Per Article 3 of UNCLOS III, the maximum claimable breadth of a territorial sea is 12 nautical miles (nm) from

Water covers 72 percent of the Earth's surface, and due to changing climates and inevitable adverse effects of global warming, this number is only likely to increase. Consequently, it is crucial for every nation to categorize, for itself and others, the different portions of the sea into a framework in order to determine the ones over which, and to what extent, a nation has jurisdiction. To serve this purpose, the United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) III 1982 has played a momentous role. This convention, in juxtaposition with previous ones, has corroborated the legal status, breadth and outer limits of the territorial sea along with the concepts of baselines, internal waters, etc.

the baseline. As for sovereignty, Article 2(1) clarifies that the sovereignty of a coastal state extends to its territorial sea indicating that anything lying within the breadth of the territorial sea will be under the jurisdiction of the adjacent coastal state.

However, even though sovereignty was finally established in UNCLOS III after revising the concepts of territorial sea, it still remains in contradiction with the right of innocent passage. This right (necessary for the promotion and protection of international trade, communication, etc) allows ships of all states to pass through the territorial sea which challenges sovereignty and somewhat questions the amount of jurisdiction that a nation has over its territorial sea. Cases such as Corfu Channel (1949) confirms this right by excusing England for "violating"

Albania's sovereignty.

Nevertheless, nations still have the power to exercise their sovereignty and prevent a foreign vessel from entering its territorial sea provided the vessel "is prejudicial to the peace, good order, or security of the coastal state."

Anusha Islam

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Terms to Understand

Baseline

The line which demarcates the boundary between land and sea (= low water line)

Inland water

Water on the inland side of the baseline (for example, estuaries).

Territorial waters

✓ Up to 12 nautical miles from the baseline (1 nautical mile = 1852 metres)

✓ Littoral states have full sovereignty here. In principle, ships under the flag of other states are entitled to innocent passage.

Contiguous zone

✓ Between 12 and 24 nautical miles from the baseline.

✓ Littoral states can take action here if their laws are violated (customs, taxes, immigration, etc.). They can also inspect and sanction the traffic of archaeological artefacts from the sea in this area.

Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ)

✓ Up to 200 nautical miles from the baseline.

✓ Littoral states have the sovereign right to economically exploit these zones, for example to fish or generate energy from water, currents and wind. They are also responsible for the protection of the marine environment.

Continental shelf

✓ Similar to an EEZ, but including the sea bed. The continental shelf runs until the continental slope. It sometimes extends further than 200 nautical miles

✓ Littoral states have similar exclusive rights as in the EEZ, and they can also carry out drilling, and lay cables and pipelines.

High sea and the Area

✓ The seas beyond the continental shelf. The High sea covers the water column and the area covers the sea bed.

✓ Here, freedom of navigation and fishing, etc., applies. The states under whose flag a ship sails bear full responsibility for that ship. Each state must take account of the interests of other states. The high sea is uniquely devoted to peaceful purposes.

✓ The freedom to fish is limited by the obligation to manage straddling fish stocks optimally, as stipulated in the Fish Stock Agreement of 1995. All states have the obligation to protect the marine environment, pollution of seawater and the sea bed is, therefore, not permitted. Reference is made to the Common Heritage of Mankind: states and companies must conserve our common heritage for future generations. The exploitation of minerals from the sea bed falls under this stipulation.

International waters

Besides the high sea, these include the sea bed beyond 200 nautical miles, in other words beyond the Exclusive Economic Zone.

Otherwise, coastal states are bound to give the right of innocent passage.

The zone positioned right after the territorial sea is the contiguous zone. This zone may not extend beyond 24nm from the baseline and lies within the framework of jurisdictions because Article 33(1) (a) and (b) clarifies that a nation has the control necessary to prevent and punish "infringement of its customs, fiscal, immigration, or sanitary laws and regulations within its territory or territorial sea."

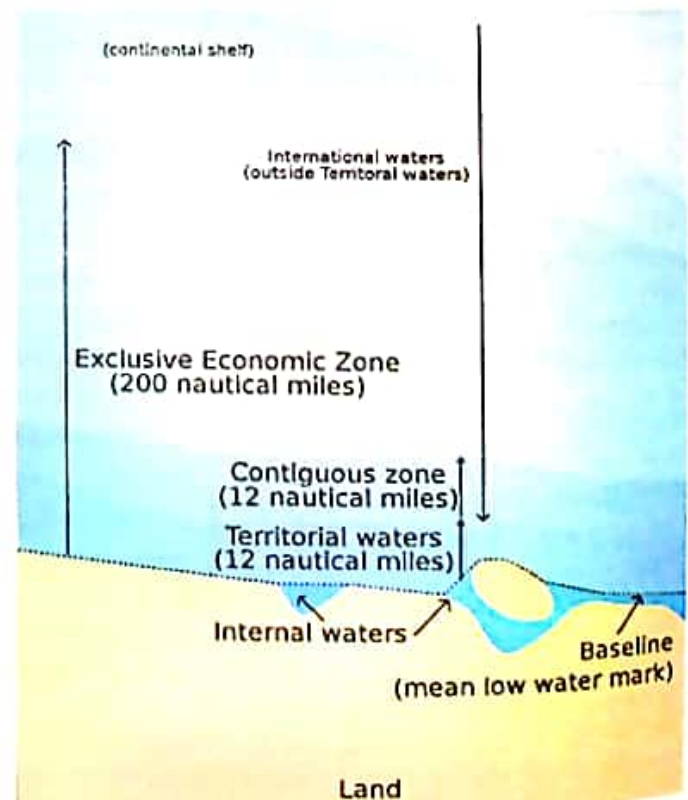
The case of *Taiyo Maru* further held that contiguous zones, including both enforcement and legislative jurisdiction, could be established for purposes other than those detailed in Article 24 of the Territorial Sea Convention.

Adjacent to the contiguous zone is the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) which extends up to 200nm from the baseline. Each coastal state not only has rights over this zone and the natural resources it encompasses, but also has duties towards other states.

Clearly, each zone is under the jurisdiction of a coastal state, indicating a framework that has been underway since the 19th century. However, how ideal is this framework? Does it truly serve its purpose as a framework?

Essentially, a framework's purpose is to resolve disputes between states, but cases such as *Narogne* indicate that not only is a country free to enact customary international law to give effect to it, but it also lies within a framework within which disputes regarding same issues keep arising. Furthermore, the farther from the baseline, the lesser the

rights or jurisdiction of the coastal state. Also, sovereignty is in a tug of war with the right of innocent passage for time immemorial, indicating loopholes in the framework which always lead to the question of whether or not a coastal state has the jurisdiction over a particular zone, and if so, to what extent. However, this loophole could be seen as an opportunity to design a better framework. ■



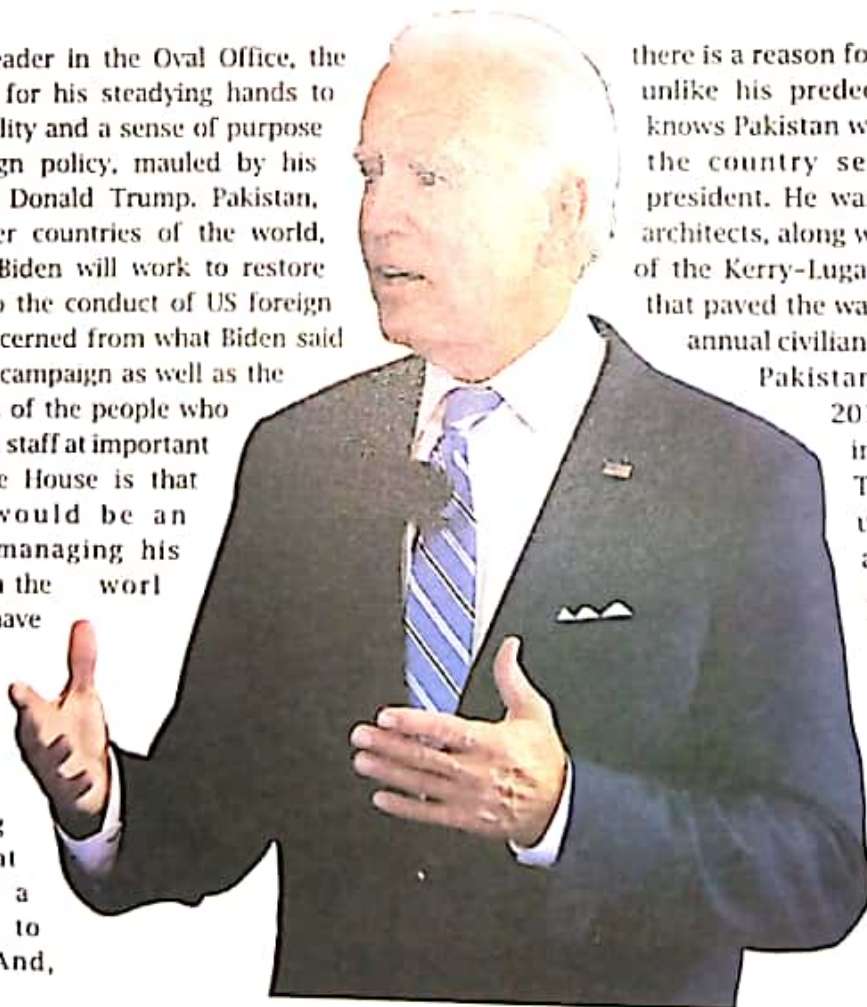
As Joe Biden has assumed office as the 46th President of the United States, a new era in Pakistan-United States relations has begun. Unlike his predecessor, Donald Trump, who pursued his signature "America First" foreign policy and attempted to move the US outside the post-WWII multilateral status quo, Biden is expected to have a more traditional approach to foreign affairs, supportive of multilateral organisations and focused on restoring Washington's international standing and alliances. The obvious question for Pakistan at the moment before our policymakers is: whether the Biden presidency will be any different for Pakistan than the Trump presidency or, more pertinently, Barack Obama's two terms, when Biden was vice president. Biden's rise to power is unlikely to drastically change the issue-specific and transactional nature of the relationship between the two nations, but it will present Pakistan with opportunities to strengthen its strategic and economic ties with the US – especially as the planned US withdrawal from Afghanistan forces allows Washington to redefine its interests in the region.

Pak-US Relations Under Joe Biden

Will the Biden's presidency be different than Trump's?

Waqar-ul-Hassan

With a new leader in the Oval Office, the world waits for his steadying hands to restore stability and a sense of purpose to US foreign policy, mauled by his predecessor Donald Trump. Pakistan, like all other countries of the world, hopes that Biden will work to restore institutional stability to the conduct of US foreign policy. What can be discerned from what Biden said during his presidential campaign as well as the background and beliefs of the people who will be in his cabinet and staff at important positions in the White House is that President Biden would be an internationalist in managing his country's relations with the world outside. He will not have America work alone but will be looking for partners in the world to help him advance his agenda. In Pakistan, it is being hoped that President Biden will adopt a pragmatic approach to Pak-US relations. And,



there is a reason for that. President Biden, unlike his predecessor Donald Trump knows Pakistan well. He had travelled to the country several times as vice president. He was one of the principal architects, along with Senator John Kerry of the Kerry-Lugar Berman Act of 2009 that paved the way for the US to provide annual civilian assistance of \$1.5bn to Pakistan between 2010 and 2014. But perhaps more importantly, contrary to Trump's unpredictable, unilateralist, personal, and at times erratic, approach to foreign affairs, Biden believes in dealing with other nations through institutions. Hence, the relationship between the US and Pakistan will be more stable during his presidency. A glimpse into Biden's thinking

about Pakistan can be had from what has been written in Bob Woodward's book, *Obama's War*. It says that the then vice-president, Biden, in his meeting told Pakistan's president about Obama's thinking: "Afghanistan is going to be his war, and we cannot fix Afghanistan without Pakistan's help." Biden further stated that American success would depend on Pakistan, and US taxpayers would not support assistance to Pakistan if the Taliban and Al-Qaeda continued to operate from Pakistani sanctuaries to kill US soldiers and plot attacks. He also described Al-Qaeda, the impetus of war in Afghanistan, as Pakistan's problem, obviously a reflection of hardened views, always negated by Pakistan.

Three Determinants of Future

Analysts believe that there will be three interconnected factors that will greatly shape Pak-US ties across the next four years. They are as follows:

1. Afghan Peace Process

The umbilical cord that has kept the United States and Pakistan connected for the past two decades, for good or bad, is Afghanistan. Afghanistan was close to Biden's heart when he was vice president. But he had a different approach. By all accounts, he took an active interest in developments in Afghanistan. As Bob Woodward reported in his book, *Obama's Wars*, Biden was opposed to the surge. He tried to convince Obama that a major surge would mean "we're locked into Vietnam." He wanted a narrow, 'counterterrorism-plus' approach: contain the Taliban, neutralise Al-Qaeda and get the troops home. Much has happened since then. The US signed a deal with the Taliban in February last year and, after much meandering, we now have an intra-Afghan dialogue which, predictably, has stalled. Meanwhile, violence flourishes unabated.

If the intra-Afghan talks derail, and the conflict reignites, US-Pakistan relations will take a hit. In such a scenario, Biden will be more supportive of the Afghan government than his predecessor, and will likely put increased pressure on Pakistan to convince the Taliban to end hostilities. This does not mean the signing of a power-sharing agreement in Afghanistan would guarantee smooth relations between Islamabad and Washington. Under a Biden presidency, the withdrawal of the US from Afghanistan will be gradual and conditional, and Washington will likely have some presence in the country for a long time. This could lead to renewed tensions with Islamabad. Moreover, the recent storming of Capitol Hill has prompted intense talk

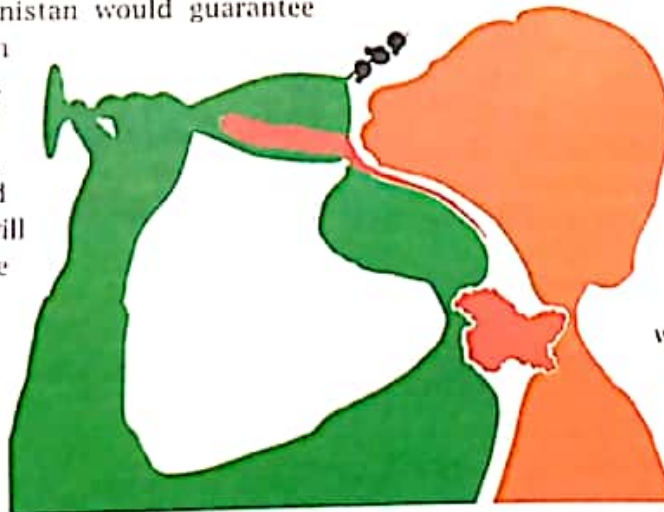
among American decision-makers about the need to redirect the US' anti-terrorist focus away from abroad, and towards the homeland instead. Any move in this direction could signal a watershed event if it results in the Pentagon paying less attention to conventional military issues across the world. And, for that, they have to pull the troops out of Afghanistan for which seeking Pakistan's help is inevitable. So, for now, the cord that binds the US and Pakistan to Afghanistan is intact. But if the talks remain stalled and violence continues, would Biden put the heat on Pakistan? That remains to be seen.

2. US-China Relations

The overall momentum of the US' permanent military, intelligence, and diplomatic bureaucracies ("deep state") is geared towards "containing" China nowadays, but that's mostly because of the decision undertaken by its outgoing Commander-in-Chief, i.e. Donald Trump. Bearing in mind the outsized influence that the President has on altering the course of his country's grand strategy, it's conceivable that Biden might seek to "moderate" his predecessor's efforts in this respect, both due to the simple principle of pragmatism and also to focus more on domestic issues such as rebuilding America's ravaged economy and waging its domestic "War on Terror". No one should expect the US to abandon its grand strategic designs, but just to potentially alter them in a meaningful way. The geopolitics of an all-embracing military, economic, technological and ideological competition with China may have to wait, at least for now. Instead, Biden may focus on maintaining America's primacy less by keeping China down than by ensuring the US remains ahead, especially technologically. Geo-economics, too, will have to be reset to look after the interests of the American working and middle classes more than of the globalist elite. And finally, geopolitics and geo-economics will need to be balanced, as the US needs not only to compete with China but also to cooperate with it for economic recovery.

The nature of US-Pakistan relations will also be determined by a practical approach on both sides.

If the US thinks that it can wean Pakistan from China or make Islamabad revise its regional approach, its policy will fail. While Pakistan does not want to be identified as being in one or the other camp, it has its strategic interests with China. It would like to enhance its relations with the US but not at the cost of its relations with China. In fact, it will be important to convince the US



that Pakistan's engagement with the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor does not mean it is disinterested in US public and private investment that can target key sectors in Pakistan's economy and help Pakistan develop. It will welcome any such investment.

3. The Lack of Biden-Modi Trust

Supplementary to the other two factors shaping the future of US-Pakistan relations is the lack of trust between the Biden administration and Modi government after the latter went all in when it came to its failed bid to support Trump's re-election through events such as "Howdy Modi" and "Namaste Trump". In and of itself, this wouldn't be too influential of an issue to focus on since interests predominate in International Relations more than personal ties do, but it becomes significant against the possible backdrop of the US refocusing a considerable amount of military attention on the homeland and



potentially reaching a detente (however short-lived) with China. These two interconnected scenarios could lead to the third whereby US-Indian relations are weakened.

The US will always retain a grand strategic interest in comprehensively cultivating relations with India, especially as an intended bulwark against China (despite the immense difficulty in doing so), but the emerging Quad alliance's military focus might shift more to the political and economic domains in response to the two previously discussed factors. Should US-Indian relations become comparatively (key qualifier) less important than under Trump, especially in the context of a possible detente with China, then Biden might feel more comfortable pressing India on human rights issues in Kashmir and elsewhere as well as repairing relations with Pakistan. This could, in turn, relieve Pakistan of hybrid war pressure emanating from Afghanistan and India.

But whatever happens in the region in the next four years, one fundamental dynamic will remain the same: Pakistan, despite its strong strategic and economic ties to China, will need US help to continue its development and keep its economy afloat.

Washington is Islamabad's largest trading partner, with an annual trade volume of \$ 6.5bn. Islamabad also needs Washington's assistance to continue receiving help from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) without being forced to fully submit to the fund and allow its technocrats to shape its economy. Similarly, it also needs

Washington's support to be taken out of the increased monitoring list of the Financial Action Task Force – the global watchdog for terror financing.

As a result, Pakistan will need to work closely with Biden during his presidency to increase economic cooperation between the two nations and have greater access to American markets. The Biden era could provide Pakistan with many economic opportunities, especially if the new president restores the US-Iran nuclear deal. This will help Pakistan access affordable Iranian gas and oil to get its struggling economy back on track.

Will a Democrat Biden be better than Republican Trump?

It is often said that Republican presidents have been better for Pakistan than Democrats. But, this is hardly backed by any reliable facts. There are many examples of US government policies that have been seen as detrimental to the interests of Pakistan – many of these have been enforced during Republican presidents; and yet the notion that Republican presidents are better for Pakistan persists. Throughout the history of US-Pakistan relations, there have been times when US interests were aligned with Pakistan's and times when these interests diverged. So, there is nothing in the Republican political doctrine or in the Democrat approach that makes either party's approach inherently better for Pakistan. Pakistan will have more constructive relations with the US if it understands that each US president will pursue US geopolitical interests. Pakistanis should try and understand what these interests are and have an open and honest dialogue about Pakistan's interests. Ultimately, it shouldn't be about Pakistan extracting certain favours from the US government but about pursuing mutually agreed goals.

Conclusion



Biden's inauguration presents some opportunities for Pakistan, though the chances of capitalising upon them are largely beyond Islamabad's control since bilateral ties are disproportionately influenced by Washington's ones with Beijing and New Delhi. Nevertheless, the black swan event of Capitol Hill's storming triggered the possibility of the US redirecting a considerable amount of its military focus back to the homeland, which could facilitate Biden's speculative intent to reach a detente with China. In turn, bearing in mind the lack of trust between the Biden and Modi Administrations, US-Indian relations might no longer play as influential of a role over US-Pakistani ones, thus working out to Islamabad's benefit if it plays its cards right. ■

Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance, 2020 & Anti-Rape (Investigation and Trial) Ordinance, 2020

Kamran Adil

Two new laws titled as the "Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance, 2020" and the "Anti-Rape (Investigation and Trial) Ordinance, 2020" were enacted on 18th December 2020. Though introduced through temporary legislation—a Presidential Ordinance—

instead of permanent legislation—an Act of Parliament—the contents of these laws warrant examination in the context of policing and justice sector reforms in Pakistan, especially with reference to offences that affect women and children in the country. An off-the-cuff remark about these two laws is that these have been enacted without debate; as a counterfactual, many a law of this country had similar fate. It, therefore, makes sense to study these laws as a citizen and as a student of justice system in Pakistan. Here, the two laws will be elucidated and briefly analyzed in tentative manner.

1. Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance, 2020

Saliency of this law lies in the fact that it amended both the substantive as well as the adjective laws of the country on the subject of sex-related offences. On substantive law side, it amended the Pakistan Penal Code, 1860, (primary criminal law

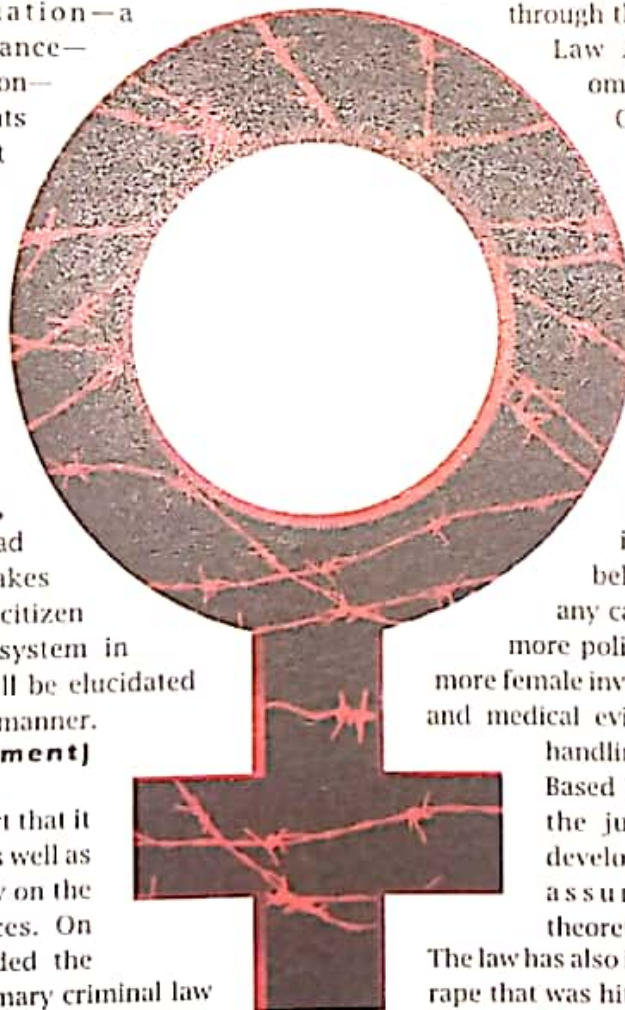
of the country) by expanding the very definition of the offence of rape. From a layperson's perspective, by expanding 'definition' of an offence, the law tries to widen the scope of an offence and caters to as many categories as possible. The present law of rape was introduced

through the Protection of Women (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 2006, that omitted certain provisions of Zina Ordinance, 1979, and introduced

sections 375 and 376 to the Pakistan Penal Code, 1860; section 375 had defined 'rape' and section 376 had provided its punishment. The new Ordinance has conceptually increased the eventualities that can now fit into definition of 'rape' including the fact that consent by a girl below sixteen years of age has been made

immaterial by making sex with below-16 girls a 'statutory rape'. In any case, in terms of policing, it means more police cases, more investigations and more female investigators, as well as more forensic and medical evidence and more careful victim-handling. From the viewpoint of Gender-Based Violence (GBV), despite failings of the justice system, it is a welcome development as more women can be assured protection—at least theoretically—through this legislation.

The law has also introduced the new offence of gang rape that was hitherto not an independent offence



and law of abetment was used with rape law to book multiple offenders. By adding section 375-A to the Pakistan Penal Code, 1860, the offence of gang rape has been added to primary criminal law of the country. This addition has addressed a legal gap in Pakistan's legal framework where criminal liability of multiple offenders in gang rape has been brought at par, and all will be punished under the doctrine of common intention irrespective of the role played by each of them in the heinous act.

Adding the offence of gang rape to primary criminal law of the country will help police and prosecution alike in investigating and prosecuting cases; as evidence regarding particular role during gang rape would not have to be adduced separately against each co-accused; by proving the presence of a co-accused with his associates, the whole case would be proved, or at least theoretically will stand proved. In addition, by amending the Second Schedule of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the new Ordinance has declared rape and gang rape as non-compoundable offences. The new law has also added new section 376-B that provides punishment for 'exceptional first-time offender or repeat offenders' of rape and gang rape cases to be subjected to punishment of 'chemical castration'; recidivism in sex offenders is a serious problem, but punishing it with such a punishment is arguably a matter of some policy choice and legal test on the touchstone of article 14 of the Constitution of Pakistan that envisages dignity of human beings even if they are offenders of the highest order.

Finally, the law has, through drafting, added two new dimensions to criminal law in Pakistan: first, it has removed the ambiguity about imprisonment for life by linking it to 'remainder of life' of an accused and clarifying that the offender has to be imprisoned till his natural death in jail; secondly, the law has empowered the Prime Minister to make rules, which power was, in earlier pieces of legislation, vested in the Federal Government. Conferring rule-making power on the Prime Minister is perhaps the outcome of the



Mustafa Impex Case that was decided by the Supreme Court of Pakistan wherein it had interpreted 'Federal Government' as 'Federal Cabinet'. In any case, the delegation of rule-making power under the statute to Prime Minister is likely to make passage of rules efficient as the whole route of taking draft statutory rules will be leapfrogged.

2. Anti-Rape (Investigation and Trial) Ordinance, 2020

The Anti-Rape (Investigation and Trial) Ordinance is

quintessentially an administrative and procedural law. It provides administrative structure of Anti-Rape Crisis Cell (APCC) that can be established by Prime Minister at any place in the country. The composition of APCC has all the stakeholders and is to be headed by Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner (DC) implying that it can be constituted at both Divisional as well as District levels. The APCC shall comprise Commissioner/DC, District Police Officer (DPO), a Medical Superintendent and an Independent Support Advisor (ISA). One member of the APCC must be a female, according to the law.

The concept of ISA is new in Pakistan's legal framework and an ISA has to be a lawyer or a doctor or a psychologist or a social worker who has to accompany the victim to

"375A. Gang rape.—Where a person is raped by one or more persons constituting a group or acting in furtherance

of a common intention, each of those persons shall be guilty of the offence of gang rape and shall be punished with death or for imprisonment for the remainder period of natural life or imprisonment for life and fine."

"376B. Exceptional first offenders or repeat offenders.—Whoever is convicted of an offence under sections 375, 375A and 376 may be subjected to chemical castration through a court order, irrespective of the applicable punishment:-

(i) in exceptional circumstances in respect of the first reported offence of section 375; or

(ii) in case of a repeat convict of an offence under section 375.

Explanation.— "Chemical castration" means a process, duly notified by Rules framed by the Prime Minister, whereby a person is rendered incapable of performing sexual intercourse for any period of his life, as may be determined by the court, through administration of drugs which shall be conducted through a notified medical board."

NATIONAL



courts to prevent her from any duress or victimization. The ISA has to be notified by the Ministry of Human Rights at Islamabad.

The law also empowers the government to establish special courts and appoint prosecutors for such cases. Victim and witnesses in sex offences are to be protected by the government. For this, rules are to be notified by the Prime Minister, but until the rules are so notified, the protection can be extended through the Witness Protection, Security and Benefit Act, 2017. For investigation of these cases, female police officers of rank of ASP/DSP and above must be entrusted with the investigations.

The law also provides legal provision to constitute Joint Investigation Teams (JITs). To fill in the gaps related to depositions through electronic means, legal provisions for in-camera recording of testimonies of victims and witnesses have been provided. To discourage the practice of mudslinging the reputation of victims, the evidence against 'immoral character' has been made inadmissible. The law has empowered police officers to take preventive action to avoid occurrence of any offence covered under the law. The modalities, in practice, of preventive action are not clear as, most of the time, the preventive legal actions get initiated by police officers, but do not result as effective deterrent due to procedural ambiguities.

Another point that relates to police is that bungled and defective investigations have been criminalized through this law. The law of defective investigation is part of the country's criminal law regime since 2016, but it has failed to deliver because it is not in sync with practitioner modalities and has, therefore, not been able to bring

delinquent police officers to task. The law also specifically prohibits disclosure of identity of a victim of a sex offence and goes as far as criminalizing the disclosure. The most progressive part of the law is that it has obligated National Database & Registration Authority (NADRA) to maintain a national electronic register of sex offenders, which will be, subject to rules, available to courts and law-enforcement agencies.

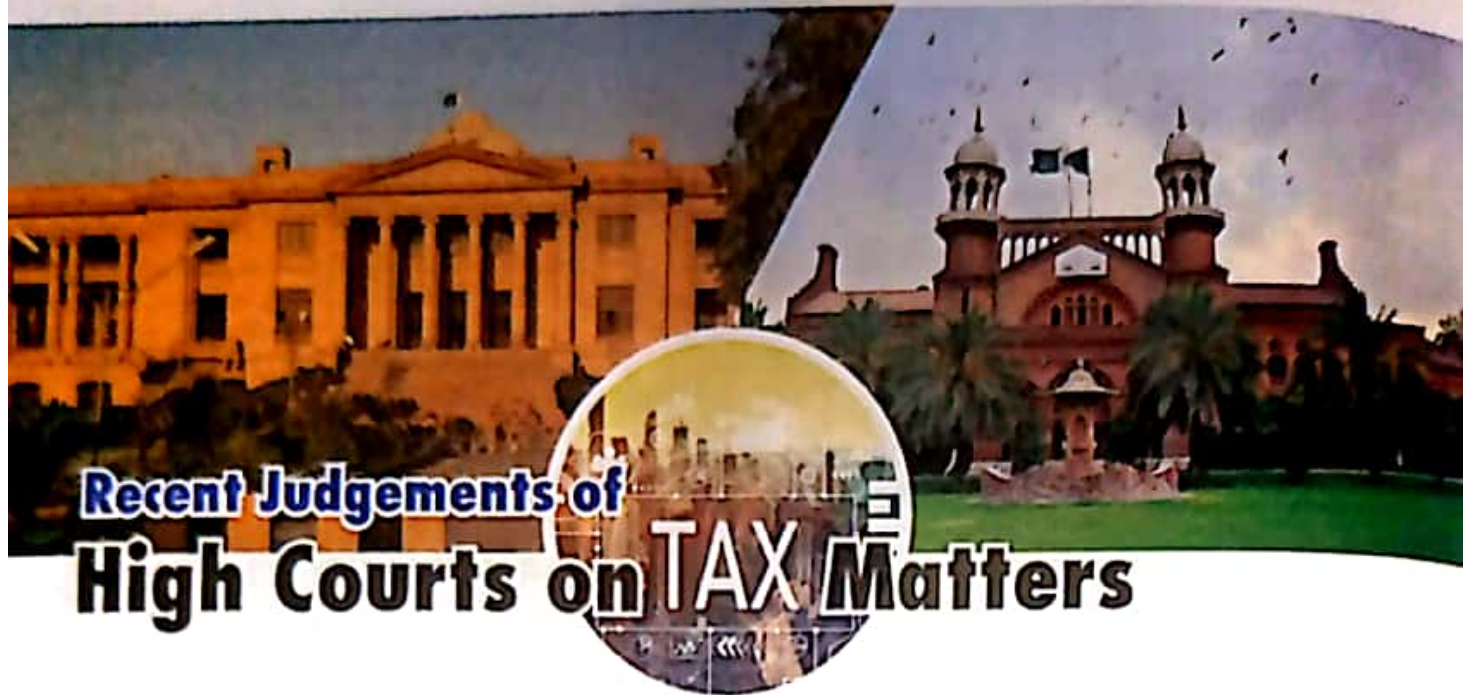


Conclusion

Criminal law, Criminal Procedure and Evidence are concurrent subjects according to articles 142 and 143 that were re-written in Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan. Leveraging on its constitutional concurrent role, the federal government has taken lead in enacting these two laws for the whole country. The implementation of these two laws largely depends upon police, which play a central role in service delivery on the ground. The police, however, are suffering from anachronism, gender imbalance to supply adequate number of female police investigators and need dire organizational and functional reforms. In addition, the prosecution, forensics and medico-legal services are being governed by the provincial governments. In order to effectively see the implementation, the federal government will have to play a more collaborative and coordinating role vis-à-vis provinces; short of that, these laws will remain under-utilized. ■



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Recent Judgements of High Courts on TAX Matters

Sindh High Court

Bilal Hassan



On 18 November 2020, the Sindh High Court (High Court) decided in Constitutional Petition D 715 of 2018 (*Celandgene Pharmaceuticals Int. vs. Federation of Pakistan & Others*) that selection of the petitioner for audit in respect of previous tax years did not preclude the tax department from initiating audit proceedings for a subsequent period under Income Tax Ordinance, 2001, (ITO 2001). The decision of the High Court is summarized below.

(a) **Facts.** The tax department selected the petitioner for audit under section 177(7) of ITO 2001 vide notice dated 27 November 2017 (impugned notice). The petitioner challenged in the High Court that there were no reasonable grounds to call for the audit since a similar exercise had been carried out in respect of a period preceding the period denoted vide the impugned notice. The tax department submitted that section 177(7) of ITO 2001 specifically permitted audit in respect of successive tax years and, in any event, the previous audit had highlighted discrepancies leading to an amended assessment that was accepted by the petitioner since no appeal was ever preferred in such regard.

(b) **Legal Background.** Section 177(7) of ITO 2001 provides the fact that a person has been audited in a year shall not preclude the person from being audited again in the next and following years where there are reasonable grounds for such audits.

(c) **Decision.** The High Court referred to its earlier decision in the case of *Pfizer Pakistan Limited & Others v. Deputy Commissioner & Others* (2016 PTD 1429) delivered by Division Bench wherein it was held that in

the very context of section 177 of ITO 2001, the obligation of a person to pay the correct quantum of tax meant that a vested right had accrued to the State to examine the books of the taxpayer since the audit of accounts was the most effective way of determining the correct tax liability. The High Court also referred to the Supreme Court decision delivered in the case of *Commissioner of Inland Revenue Sialkot & Others v. Allah Din Steel and Rolling Mills & Others* (2018 SCMR 1328) wherein it was held that the statutory framework of audit, coupled with the overarching umbrella of Constitutional guarantees, furnished adequate and sufficient safeguards to the taxpayer; hence, the lawful exercise of the power to conduct an audit could not be denied. The High Court mentioned its judgement delivered in the case of *Pakistan Petroleum Limited v. Federation of Pakistan & Others* (2016 PTD 2664) wherein it was maintained that where the notice provided sufficient reasoning for selecting a case for audit, the law did not provide for a *voir dire* upon the taxpayer's objections to the rationale invoked. It was further held that the taxpayer remained at liberty to avail the statutory hierarchy if aggrieved by the conclusion of the audit proceedings.

Thereafter, the High Court ruled that selection of the petitioner for audit in respect of previous tax years did not preclude the tax department from initiating audit proceedings for a subsequent period, especially in view of section 177(7) of ITO 2001. Finally, the High Court dismissed the petition and other pending applications on the same issue.

Lahore High Court

On 27 November 2020, the Lahore High Court (High Court) declared in Writ Petition No. 4214 of 2017 (*New Cherat Coal versus Federation of Pakistan & Others*) that SRO 549(1)/2020 of 5 June 2006 (SRO 549) is unlawful and of no legal effect. The decision of the High Court is summarized below:

(a) **Facts.** In exercise of powers conferred under section 8(1)(b) of the Sales Tax Act, 1990, (STA), the federal government issued SRO 549 to disallow input tax adjustment on the taxable supply of locally-produced coal chargeable to sales tax at the rate of 17%. Nevertheless, the registered person (New Cherat Coal) adjusted input tax in respect of the taxable supply of locally-produced coal for the tax periods July 2014 to January 2016. The tax authorities issued a show cause notice (SCN) dated 17 January 2017 to disallow input tax adjustment in view of the SRO 549. The SCN was challenged in the High Court being incompetent and illegal on the ground that SRO 549, which is the source of the SCN, is itself without lawful authority, and has been incompetently issued by exceeding the delegated authority conferred by the Legislature.

(b) **Legal Background.** Section 8(1)(b) of the STA provides that ... a registered person shall not be entitled to reclaim or deduct input tax paid on ... any other goods or services which the federal government may, by notification in the official gazette, specify. In exercise of the powers conferred by the said section of the STA, the federal government issued SRO 549 to direct that no input tax adjustment shall be admissible to the registered persons making the taxable supply of locally-produced coal (PCT heading 27.01).

© **Decision.** The High Court concluded that SRO 549 makes inadmissible the input tax adjustment to a registered person, making the taxable supply of locally-produced coal, i.e. in case a person makes a taxable supply of locally-produced coal, he will not be entitled to input tax adjustment in respect of that supply. However, SRO 549 does not specify any goods on which input tax has already been paid and which have been used for making taxable supplies and in respect of which the input tax adjustment has been denied. Whereas a proper reading of section 8(1)(b) of the STA will ineluctably show that the

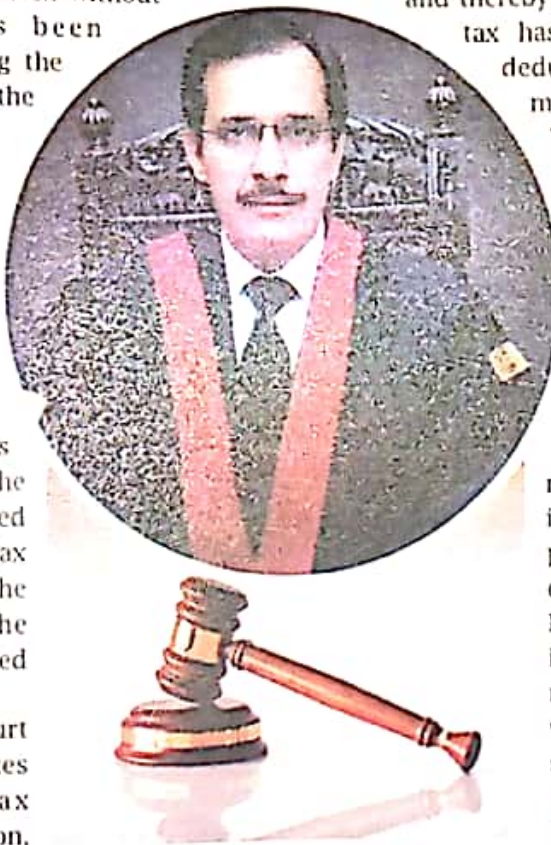
provision denies the registered person to claim input tax paid on any other goods which the federal government may, by notification, specify. Therefore, the relation in section 8(1)(b) of the STA is to the goods on which input tax has been paid and not to the taxable supplies made by the registered person. Since no goods have been specified in the SRO 549 in respect of which the input tax has been paid, the consequence is that the registered person has been denied input tax adjustment on all kinds of goods which were used in making the taxable supply of locally-produced coal. It cannot be deemed that the federal government under the delegated authority conferred by section 8(1)(b) of the STA can merely specify the registered person in relation to taxable supplies being made by him without identifying the goods on which the input tax was in fact paid. Whereas the federal government has merely specified a registered person in the SRO 549 impacting a certain kind of taxable supplies and thereby excluded all goods on which input tax has been paid from adjustment or deduction. This is clearly not the mandate of section 8(1)(b) of the STA.

Therefore, SRO 549 was held to be without lawful authority and of no legal effect.

(d) **Reaction.** The High Court has declared SRO 549 unlawful and has restored allowance of input tax adjustment to all registered persons (foreign as well as local) engaged in making taxable supply of locally-produced coal. The registered persons who were denied input tax adjustment during the period from 5 June 2006 until this decision of the High Court (27 November 2020) are eligible to adjust input tax against output tax. As a result, the decision of the High Court will have direct reducing impact on sales tax liability of the registered persons making taxable supply of locally-produced coal. Moreover, creation of refund in cases where

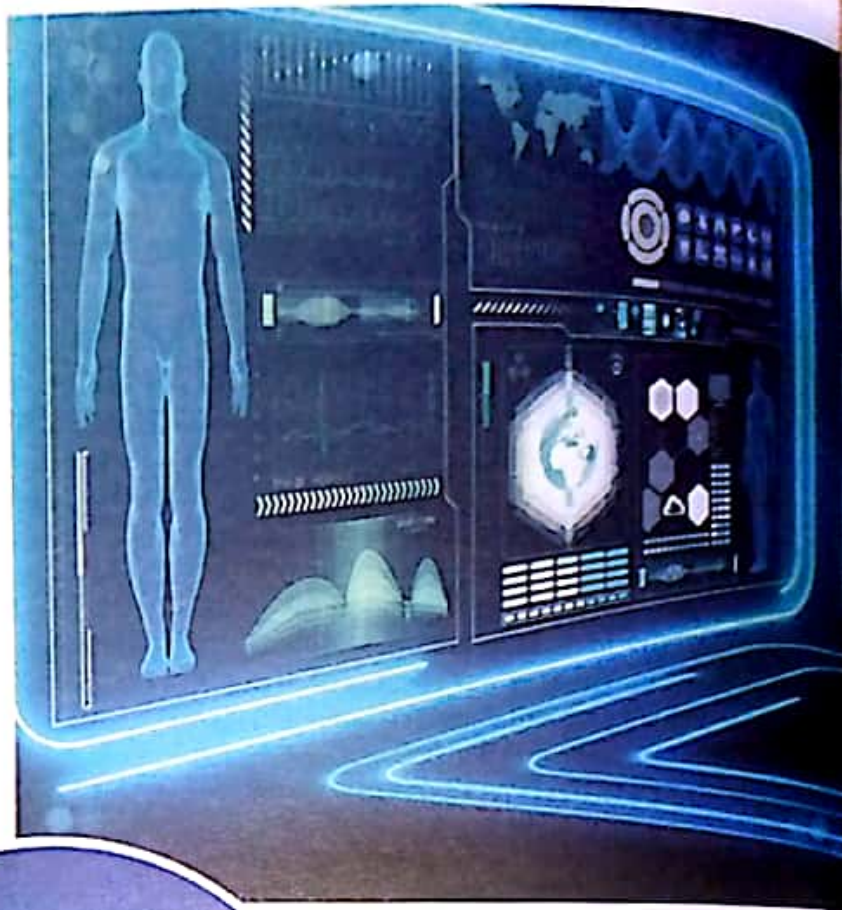
input tax exceeded output tax for a tax period cannot be ruled out. Therefore, this decision of the High Court has provided relief to the registered persons making taxable supplies of locally-produced coal especially in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic. ■

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The year 2020 would remain a remarkable one in the 21st century because of the Covid-19 pandemic. The transformation of coronavirus disease from an epidemic to a pandemic has deepened suspicions of an average person. Because what the world is witnessing at present is no longer limited to any single country; it is a global phenomenon. The Covid-19 pandemic would leave an indelible mark on the history of humanity, as it has already afflicted over 90 million people, and devoured around 2 million lives.



Advancement of Artificial Intelligence in Pakistan after Covid-19

In keeping people connected in this critical time, conventional means of communication and transacting has taken a new shape with the advent of additional and newfangled technology. Numerous countries have found massive opportunities in this pandemic as they are establishing online services and alternative ways of working and earning money. The Covid-19 pandemic has increased the importance of technology, as it is now being seen as a "blessing in disguise". It has diverted our attention towards various options of using technology in our daily-life tasks, e.g. online education, office work, global official meetings, seminars /webinars, etc. How Pakistan is competing in technology vis-à-vis different other countries, or what developments in Artificial Intelligence (AI) have occurred in Pakistan after Covid-19? Being a resource-limited country, Pakistan is facing a plethora of problems compounded by the hostility of its big neighbour, clash of interests, humanitarian issues, poverty, fragile economy, unbridled population growth,

Saadia Saif Niazi and a lack of existing emergency-preparedness mechanisms in place. However, despite that, a big question still remains: how much development has Pakistan made in artificial intelligence (AI) during the last one year of the global crisis.

According to Investopedia, AI refers to "the simulation of human intelligence in machines that are programmed to think like humans and mimic their actions". AI is about the faculties of human mind, such as learning and problem-solving. It can recognize individual faces featured in videos or images using AI-enabled technology. In Pakistan, the use of online services is rampant, but in terms of the development of various software and working with international companies for popularizing Machine Learning (ML), the country has lagged too far behind others. There are many fields and occupations where AI can do miracles because of which several professions would head towards evolution and growth, not extinction. The fundamental idea to write this article is to appreciate and find out ways by which Pakistanis could make apt use of



AI for the development of software in some noteworthy fields such as medicine, education, surveillance, space security, and so on.

Health is the most important sector where AI applications can be precious. The detection of viruses and diagnosis and treatment of patients are just simple steps as there are many other background processes such as a gathering of data through patient tests, processing and analyzing results, using multiple sources of data for accurate diagnosis and treatment method, patient monitoring and follow-up appointments.

In this domain, it is important for all Pakistanis to know about the ongoing success story of AI in Pakistan in the form of 'Amal Diagnostic Tool' which has been developed by a local IT firm 'InfoMatrix'. 'Amal' is an early cancer diagnosis tool which uses AI for cancer detection. Using Amal, the cost of diagnosis can be reduced by a factor of 3, and it can reduce the turnaround time from 15 days to less than a

day. This is the first eligible AI Initiative in Pakistan to secure TPU computing power. TPU is a special hardware that is not yet available commercially and can be accessed through acquiring grants from big technical giants like Google.

Pakistan's ministry of Information Technology has done a great deal of work regarding AI. Under the supervision of the Higher Education Commission (HEC), the Government of Pakistan has allocated Rs1.1 billion for a period of three years to start a project on AI. Six universities of Pakistan are setting up different labs such as Intelligent Robotics and Deep Learning, Medical Imaging and Diagnostic Lab, Neuro Computation Labs, Intelligent Criminology Lab and Agent-based Computation for boosting research and development (R&D).

Here, the efforts put in by the incumbent President of Pakistan, Dr Arif Alvi, must be lauded. He has started an online program for youngsters under the name 'Presidential Initiative for Artificial Intelligence & Computing (PIAIC)' to reshape Pakistan by revolutionizing education, research and business through adopting the latest, innovative technologies. The mission of this program is to make Pakistan a global hub for AI, data science and cloud. These types of educational initiatives will play a key role in building a strong economic edifice. These initiatives would lead towards the boosting of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) under China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) as it is based on over \$60 billion project, with 'Technological Advancement' being an important component. SEZs would be the backbone of

Pakistan's economy, as Pakistani youth will find huge employment opportunities in those.

We cannot ignore emerging concerns over space security as well. AI could play a vital role in it by developing different programs for cybersecurity and surveillance. Pakistan is considered an upcoming space power, though with a relatively modest program compared to the larger, more successful ones of China and India. Islamabad needs to use resources to improve its nascent space

infrastructure through collaborative efforts to gain self-sufficiency in socioeconomic projects. "The Space Development Program 2040," approved by National Command Authority, should aim to ensure space-based benefits for the country and focus mainly on



PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVE FOR
Artificial Intelligence & Computing (PIAIC)

PIAIC is an interdisciplinary hub for mass education, research, and business in artificial intelligence (AI), data science, cloud computing, edge computing, blockchain and internet of things (IoT) related fields. As AI and computing reshape our world, PIAIC intends to help make sure that Pakistan plays its part in this fourth industrial revolution. PIAIC aims to transform education, research and business in Pakistan.



telecommunications and Earth observation by using the AI.

In addition, Pakistan could seek help from its neighbouring country for its Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Commission (SUPARCO), which is currently facing a lack of funding, thus impeding technological advancement and innovation.



Conclusively, 21st-century technology is the core growth driver. Pakistan's neighbour and an all-weather friend China, which is involved in huge projects of socio-economic development in Pakistan, has planned to make China the world leader in the AI domain by 2030. For this, Beijing is working on a 'three-step plan':

1. It must be able to keep pace with all leading AI technology by 2020.
2. By 2025, it is to make major breakthroughs.
3. The second step should lead to the third part of the plan which is the establishment of AI.

Pakistan needs to speed up its Information Technology (IT) and AI programs and implement pragmatic plans with the help of China as Beijing and Islamabad are already in a "Strategic Partnership". Establishment and relocation of industries would have a lot more space for AI

development in Pakistan. Therefore, Islamabad needs far more engineering institutes than it currently has to at least join the race in AI.

Although Covid-19 has wreaked havoc on the world in almost all domains, it has, at the same time, opened new vistas of opportunities to develop and apply AI, which is possible in almost every field of life in Pakistan. Through AI and ML, Pakistanis could embrace efficiency and productivity by permitting exponential growth in certain sectors of the economy which would lead towards the globaleconomic sectors.

Many countries of the world are involved in devising global, regional and national AI policies to maximize the potential and minimize the risks. It is imperative for Pakistan to develop its own AI strategy and guidelines with a human rights framework at the core of its policy. The government should focus not only on public-sector regulations for the use of AI, but also on regulating its use in the private sector. This is because the private sector is more likely to dominate the AI evolution owing to its ability to make long-term investments in development and initiatives in the domain of AI.

Steve Jobs, founder of Apple and the person responsible for Apple's iconic success, once said:

"Innovation distinguishes between a leader and a follower."

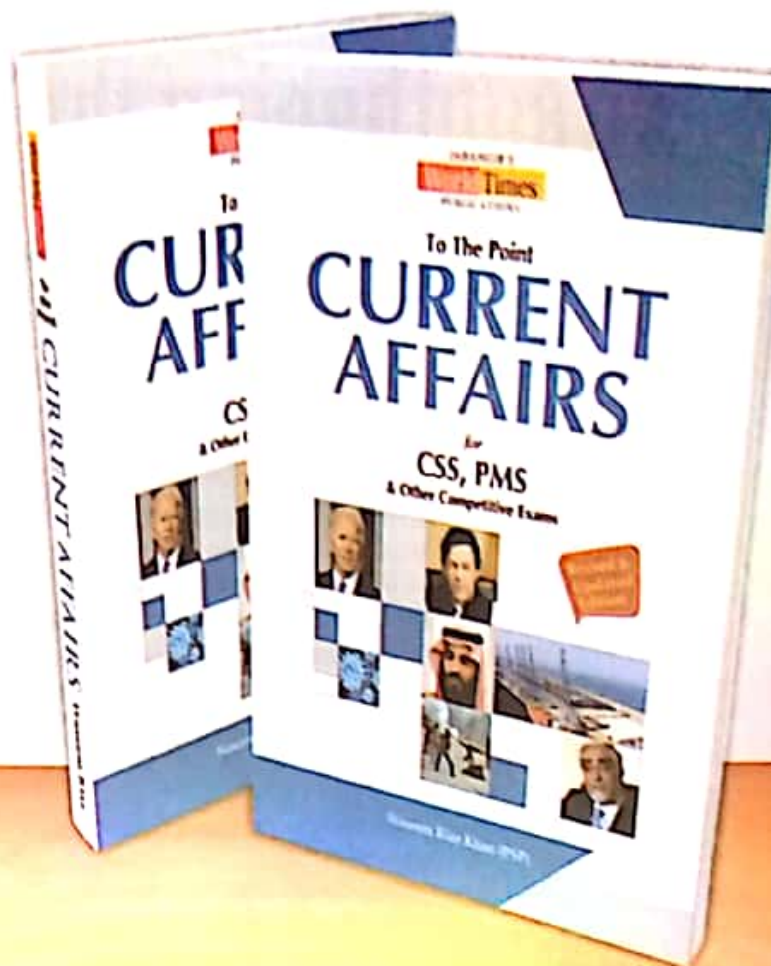
Without the government's innovative policies and without creating an environment conducive to the growth of the private sector of Pakistan, our local companies will remain stuck in the role of followers which is not a viable option for a progressive country to gain in the race of AI. Interplay with entrepreneurship through several Incubation centres would be productive. ■

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HIGHLIGHTS

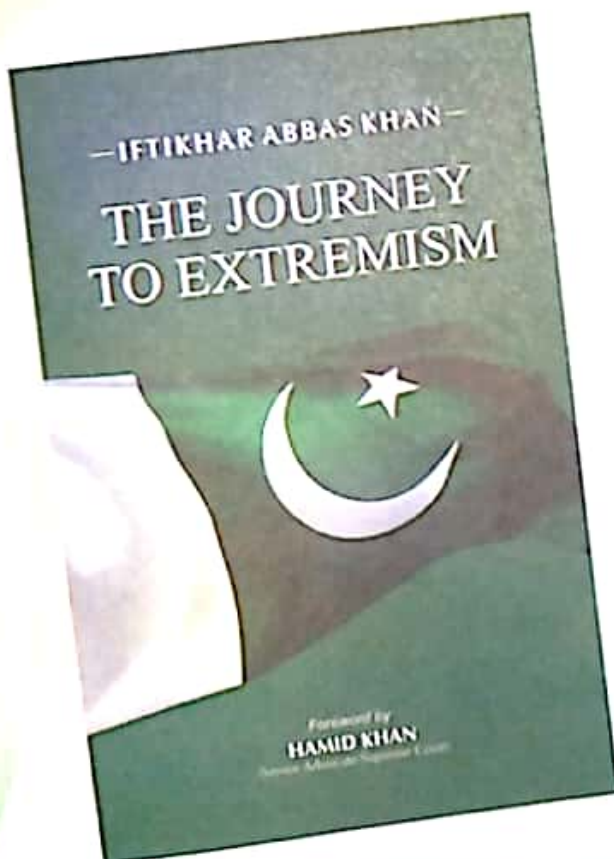
- Impact of Covid-19 Pandemic on Pakistan and Mitigation Measures
- China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
- Foreign Policy of Pakistan and Present Challenges
- National Digital Policy of Pakistan
- Promoting Tourism in Pakistan
- Afghanistan Reconciliation Process
- Arab-Israeli Deals: Implications & Reactions
- Global Implications of Covid-19 Pandemic
- Iran-Saudi Arabia Relations and Middle East
- Kashmir Conflict
- Syria: From Uprising to Civil War
- United Nations on Global Issues
- ...& much more



OUR NEWEST PUBLICATION

HIGHLIGHTS

- Quaid's Ideology of Pakistan
- Religious Parties & Pakistan Movement
- Bhutto's Islamisation in The Aftermath of Debacle of East Pakistan
- Sectarianism and Militancy
- Gen. Musharraf Regime
- Afghan Crisis and Its Implications for Pakistan
- External Forces and Domestic Policies
- Dark Days of Judiciary
- Problems for Pakistan Due to The Taliban Regime
- Brutal Repression In Occupied Kashmir
- Fall out of Attackson Pathankot & Bacha Khan University
- Madrasa Education and The State
- ...& much more



Strengthening the Audit Mechanism

Muhammad Shahid Rafique



Corruption, undoubtedly, is one of the main stumbling blocks in the way of achieving a fair and equitable

society. This is high time we took stock of the factors as to what has gone wrong in our case when it comes to curbing corruption and holding the corrupt accountable. Several anti-corruption agencies are working at the federal and provincial levels. The agencies at the federal level include the Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) and the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) while, at the provincial level, there are Anti-Corruption Establishments (ACEs). NAB is the leading anti-corruption agency but it is the most controversial as well.

NAB has failed terribly in curbing corruption through its three-pronged strategy, i.e. awareness, prevention and enforcement. Rather it has been used by the successive governments to settle the score with the political opponents. It is also alleged to have legalized corruption by resorting to plea bargain. Resultantly, this has reinforced a general impression that if you have enough money, you can get out of trouble. Surprisingly, no high-

Third-World countries like Pakistan lag far behind the developed world mainly because institutions of the former are plagued with corruption and inefficiency. Curbing corruption and ensuring transparency are the most important issues the present political dispensation in Pakistan never forgets to refer to. However, the institutions whose main objective is to curb corruption have been criticized harshly by the courts and the people at large for their inefficiency to perform their assigned tasks in line within the constitutional parameters.

profile politician or bureaucrat has ever been got convicted by NAB. Its "Say No to Corruption" mantra becomes irrelevant when it is more known of plea bargains, and not going against the powerful sections of society. This very inefficiency of the institution led the Supreme Court to declare it a dead one meaning thereby that it is unable to take action when it matters. The same is the case with the rest of the anti-corruption agencies in the country.

If international experience is to go by, anti-corruption agencies or mechanisms have an important role to play in combating corruption in countries where levels of corruption are modest. In our case, where corruption is wide-spread, these mechanisms cannot deliver because



the problem lies beyond the scope of these agencies. Rampant corruption means that the governance system is dysfunctional and the public-sector organizations are not working in consistence with the given parameters, and this is the domain of neither NAB nor any other anti-corruption agency in the country. This is where the role of the Department of Auditor General of Pakistan (DAGP) becomes all the more important and highly relevant in improving the governance system.

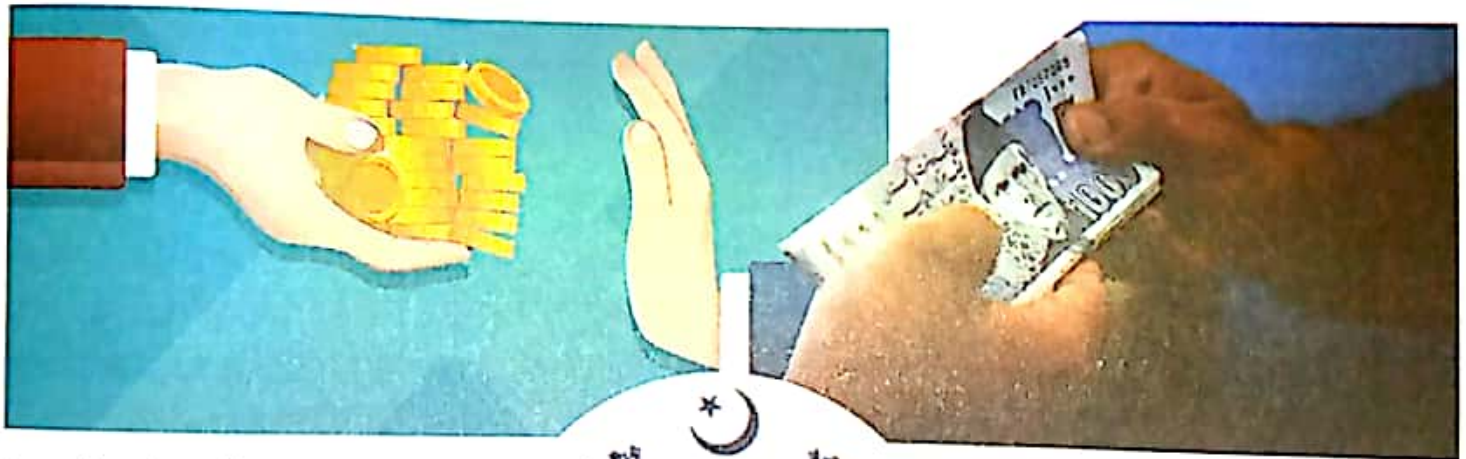
Being a national-level watchdog, the prime objective of the DAGP is to oversee the management of public finances. Traditionally, its role has been seen as promoting transparency and accountability in the public sector. Government auditing is an important institutional arrangement in modern governance as it is aimed at monitoring, appraising and accountability. By monitoring as to how public resources are used, auditing can strengthen accountability and reduce the misuse of authority and resources.

The DAGP is the only institution that can be instrumental

DAGP, as indicated above, is seen as promoting public-sector transparency and accountability. The role of the government auditing in fighting corruption is, therefore, taken as an indirect one, focusing on deterrence and prevention.

It is pertinent to remark here that the institutional framework of the DAGP is based on the Westminster model, also known as the Anglo-Saxon or Parliamentary model. Under this model, National Audit Office (the DAGP in our case) is headed by an independent Auditor General which submits audit reports to the Public Accounts Committee of the parliament. This model is used in the United Kingdom and most of the Commonwealth countries. The Judicial or Napoleonic model is used by France and several other European countries, as well as Turkey and the Latin American countries including Brazil and Colombia. Under this arrangement, a Court of Audit becomes a part of the judicial system, and trials those engaged in the misuse of public funds and authority.

As the existing institutional arrangements in Pakistan



in making the public-sector organizations act within the given legal and constitutional framework when it comes to financial discipline and accountability. Unlike the above-mentioned agencies, the DAGP conducts the audit of every public-sector organization on regular basis and thus occupies a unique position, given its outreach and close interaction with all the public-sector entities. This unique position of the department can effectively be used in eradicating corruption, provided the government strengthens the DAGP to do the same. Many countries in the world have successfully used the government's audit institutions in combating corruption. For example, the USA introduced Government Accountability Office, and Brazil established audit courts to have a strong check on public-sector institutions. Recently, China has successfully used government auditing in its fight against corruption. Traditionally, the role of the

have not yielded the desired results of curbing corruption, there is a dire need to revamp the system. By merging the above-mentioned models through the establishment of Audit Courts, fighting corruption will become the prime objective of government auditing. Keeping in view the deplorable condition our institutions are in at present, the proposed Audit Courts will exert greater pressure on the public-sector institutions to mend their ways by operating within legal and constitutional parameters. Through Audit Courts, fixing responsibility against those involved in the misuse of public funds and authority can be viewed as a potential threat to corrupt practices. The earlier we take steps in the right direction, the better it is. ■

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PAKISTAN-INDIA

WATER

CONFLICT

Nature, Impacts and Solutions

For over seven decades, water has been a principal reason behind conflict between Pakistan and India. The Indus Waters Treaty (IWT) resolved the issue to a great extent, but it did not prove fruitful in the long run because of frequent violations by India. The recent statements of Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, about blocking the flow of river water from India to Pakistan have further conflated the conflict. Similarly, the current upstream water infrastructure projects by India have heightened the tensions. Because of all this, Pakistanis and their source of living and their life itself are under a dire threat.

Laiba Muhammad Aamir

At the time of partition, the boundary line between Pakistan and India was drawn under the Radcliffe Award. Consequently, India became the upper riparian country and Pakistan the lower riparian. In this way, water in rivers that flow through Pakistan comes from India. However, right after the partition, India prevented the river flow into Pakistan. As Pakistan's agricultural structure, which makes the backbone of the national economy, depends heavily on river water for irrigation, it affected the country badly. For this reason, Pakistan contacted the international community to resolve this issue. After the involvement of the World Bank as mediator, a treaty was signed in 1960 between the then Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, and President of Pakistan, Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, under the name of "Indus Waters Treaty." The terms of the treaty generally stated that the waters of the three Western Rivers, namely Indus, Jhelum and Chenab, would be available for the unrestricted use of Pakistan; and India was granted unrestricted use of the waters of the three Eastern Rivers - Sutlej, Ravi and Beas. This obliged both the neighbouring countries to cooperate and allow the flow of waters of the rivers that lay in their territory but even though their water was to be used by the neighbouring country. The IWT did an outstanding job on its part. However, India's flagrant violations of the treaty have rendered it irrelevant, and Indians are acting as if the treaty was never "signed" by them.

In 1999, India announced the construction of Baglihar dam on Chenab River that the treaty had given for the exclusive use of Pakistan. This act of India is a violation of the IWT because it can restrict the flow of Chenab water to a drastically low level.

Similarly, Modi also announced to review the IWT but that would never be acceptable to Pakistan. Construction of other dams on Chenab, Jhelum and Neelum rivers has also been initiated by the Indian government. These projects include 330MW Kishanganga project on Neelum river and 850MW Ratle hydropower project on the Chenab. Pakistan has serious objections to all these projects. They are not only in violation of the IWT but are also a serious threat to Pakistan's economy as it is heavily dependent on agriculture. Therefore, the restricted flow of water would affect crops badly.

Due to these Indian activities, there is a 50 percent cut in the flow of all three rivers in Pakistan, especially Chenab. India is defending its right to construct dams. It takes a stance that the decline in the flow of rivers is due to lower rainfall because of climate change. However, Pakistan is of the opinion that rainfall is not a major contributor to the river flow. Moreover, 50-80 percent of water in the Indus system comes from the melting of glaciers and snow. Similarly, rainfall cycles have been disturbed; therefore, there is either prolonged drought or pre- and late-monsoon. Pakistani officials explain that India is planning to divert the upstream river course, thus reducing the volume of water in downstream rivers.

India has waged a water war against Pakistan. Around 70 percent of Pakistan's agricultural region is in Punjab, followed by Sindh. Therefore, Indian dams will adversely affect Punjab's fertile land. Crop failure will lead to food scarcity as well as a curtailed source of earning of more than half the Pakistanis. The reason is that 45 percent of the labour force of Pakistan is employed in agriculture. In the same manner, the health of the people will also be badly affected. Besides this, there will be negative impacts on agricultural infrastructure because the water in canals and

barrages come from western rivers.

India is not only violating the IWT but also several other international laws about human rights. According to several international conventions, it is a basic human right to have enough drinking water. The construction of dams by India on western rivers, which the IWT allocated to Pakistan, is depriving the people of Pakistan from the basic human necessity of water. Just like violations of human rights in Kashmir, India has started doing the same in Pakistan as well.

According to article 55 of the UN Charter, it is necessary to ensure "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development"; water falls in this domain. Article 25 of "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" highlights the significance of access to basic necessities of one's life. Moreover, "The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women" (CEDAW) says that water is crucial for the quality of life for a woman. A woman living in a rural area needs not only water for drinking purposes but also for rearing her children, for fulfilling family as well as domestic needs. Besides, "The Convention on the Rights of the Child" says that a child needs nutritious food and clean drinking water for normal and proper growth. Furthermore, Article 10 of "The United Nations Watercourses Convention" says that water for drinking purposes is more important than water for agricultural, industrial and other needs. The list of international conventions on the availability of water as a basic human need is long. However, India is clearly going against all of them and such actions on the part of it present its inhuman image to the world.

It is time for Pakistan to take immediate measures to tackle the problem of water shortage before it gets too late. Relying only on the IWT is no more an option because India holds no reverence to it nor for the promises it had made to the international community. Pakistan needs to look for other solutions like bilateral talks. In such a process, both countries should discuss IWT-related issues. One thing that Pakistan needs to take special care of in this regard is that it must send experts for the bilateral talks with proper beforehand preparations instead of politicians and bureaucrats. Other than this, the will of the officials is the most important thing. Many projects of different natures are started in Pakistan and the citizens are asked to donate for that as much as they can, but, unfortunately, the projects keep on delaying for long without apprising the citizens of the actual reason. Therefore, the corrupt and lazy officers need to be out of

this matter now; otherwise, the situation will further deteriorate. In addition, India must facilitate Pakistan by allowing visits to the under-construction dam projects. It will help Pakistan to know about the height, size and proper location of the dams.

In addition, Pakistan needs to construct dams and complete the new and ongoing projects in time. It is one of the weakest points of Pakistan which India uses in its favour. Due to a fewer number of dams, Pakistan is wasting huge amounts of water that falls into the sea without adding any benefit to the country. To stop the wastage of water and prevent India from further violations of the IWT, Pakistan needs dams. For example, if Diamer-Bhasha dam is constructed in due time, India will have a limited chance to

construct dams on upstream rivers. These dams will increase the water-life of Pakistan, which is only 32 days at present (extreme danger zone). The construction of Dasu and Mohmand dams will also increase water-life in Pakistan. The focus should not be on mega projects only but the construction of medium and small dams should also be among the top priorities of the concerned authorities. Plus, rainwater along with river water should also be stored. Similarly, it is important to spread awareness about using water carefully. In addition, Pakistan needs to shift its agriculture sector to other techniques like drip irrigation. In this way, less water will be required to irrigate crops.

To sum up, access to water is a basic human right and a necessity for life as well. However, the construction of dams by India on western rivers that have been allocated to Pakistan has already created a threatening situation in the country. These dams must be good for Indians but they are violating human rights of Pakistanis.

The construction of dams curtails the volume of water in eastern rivers that will not only produce a shortage of water and food but will bring unemployment and many other social evils. At this level, Pakistan and India are at war but if the conflict is not resolved, local people will become thirsty of each other's blood because of water scarcity. Therefore, it is indispensable now to construct dams as soon as possible. Plus, it is time to bring on new agricultural and industrial ways that would use less amount of water. The resolution of this conflict is vital to the peace of both Pakistan and India otherwise the war between the two nuclear powers will destroy the whole world. ■

Indus water treaty



It was signed by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Pakistan President Ayub Khan in September 1960, water of 6 rivers - Beas, Ravi, Sutlej, Indus, Chenab and Jhelum - were to be shared between the two countries

■ Pakistan has been complaining about not receiving enough water

**Blood and water
cannot flow
together**





Azeem Khan

government had vowed to take in the other direction. In fact, the tax-to-GDP ratio has fallen year-on-year basis under the current government. Economic growth in 2021 is expected to be around one percent and, thus, a tough year lies ahead. The PTI government has already changed the Federal Board of Revenue head four times in less than three years. This is part of a wider pattern. Cabinet reshuffles have become a regular occurrence, as have sackings and appointments in senior bureaucratic positions.

Such turnover does not lend confidence to the governing ability or viability of a government that is already a rookie when it comes to policymaking. Nor does

history suggest a reason for optimism.

Pakistan has a history of mass uprisings during periods of economic crisis. Former Pakistani President Ayub Khan was ousted in 1969 after mass protests sparked by an increase in sugar prices. While the uprising against former Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf was catalyzed by the lawyers' movement, it was during a period of economic recession, which exacerbated the overall resentment and helped lay the groundwork for dissent.

CPEC and security

There is an increasing tilt in Pakistani foreign policy toward a development, rather than a purely security, approach. This is evidenced by the way the military has involved itself with the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project. Former Inter Services Public Relations head Lieutenant General Asim Bajwa was appointed the head of the project and, in November, parliament approved a bill that grants the military control of the project.

This has also led to a shift in which Pakistan's economic relationship with China is getting stronger and its security impetus is also shifting toward the protection of the CPEC project from outside interference, with the likelihood that it was China that wanted greater involvement of the military in the project, due to security concerns. This shift in Pakistan's policy is aptly illustrated in China's bailing out Pakistan so it could pay its Saudi loan at the end of 2020.

Afghanistan withdrawal

The withdrawal of the United States from Afghanistan will have less of an impact than expected by some analysts, keeping in line with the overall trend in Pakistani policy. The Taliban have moved more toward Doha than Islamabad. While peace in Afghanistan will be a boon for Pakistan, its influence in effecting that has been minimized. ■

The year 2021 in Pakistan will be dominated by the question of whether the current government will see out the year. The eleven-party opposition alliance - Pakistan Democratic Movement - against Pakistani prime minister, Imran Khan, is expected to continue with its activities. The outcome will depend on a few factors such as the happiness of the country's security establishment with the civilian government, the success of the government in curbing rampant inflation, and the overall economic recovery following the pandemic, which the government must engineer while heeding stringent International Monetary Fund (IMF) restraints. The economy will play the biggest role in the government's ability to survive. If the government can convince the public that it can manage the country through the economic crisis, it will survive. But, signs are worrying for the ruling party. The economy contracted in 2020 for the first time in decades; in large part due to the restrictions necessitated by the pandemic. Even before that, inflation was alarmingly high, with Pakistan suffering an economic downturn even before Covid-19 hit. If this increase in the cost of living continues, it could foment a downturn in public sentiment, and the opposition is banking on that for its movement to succeed.

An economy in trouble?

It will be a tough road ahead for the economy in 2021, as the IMF austerity measures will need to be dealt with even as the government attempts economic recovery from the pandemic. The current account deficit shrunk by around 3 percent due to a fall in both exports and imports. Of more concern will be the 55-percent decrease in tax filers the past year, something the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)

Best Books to Understand FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN

1. Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2019: A Concise History by Abdul Sattar

The 400-page book is a detailed account of Pakistan's foreign policy since 1947, and it forms a basic reference

book, or a textbook. Written with the express purpose of providing a reference book for students of history, political science, international relations, and Pakistan Studies, it offers a useful beginner's guide to the many twists and turns of foreign policy. Meant primarily for students of international relations, it remains a valuable starting point for anyone interested

in learning — in concise form — about the factors driving Pakistan's external engagements since the country's inception. This book offers an objective history of policy stances along with the rationale behind decisions made by the state leaders. It provides an insight into the making, implementation and consequences of Pakistan's foreign policy from Partition up to 2019. It facilitates a deeper understanding of the strategic compulsions that have driven decision-making in Pakistan's national security and foreign policy.

2. Pakistan Foreign Policy: An Overview 1947-2004

by Hasan Askari Rizvi

Authored by the renowned defence and political analyst, Prof. Dr Hasan Askari Rizvi, and created by PILDAT, the paper takes a gander at the major international strategy stages and improvement of viewpoints in the international strategy of Pakistan. It attempts to present an objective and factual commentary, covering the history and different perspectives of foreign policy in Pakistan. The

objective of the paper is to provide a comprehensive overview of the Pakistani foreign policy since independence so as to orient the reader towards the dynamics, actors and influencing factors on foreign policy. It endeavours to introduce a target and verifiable discourse, covering exact history and forming of international strategy points of view.

3. China-Pakistan Relations: A Historical Analysis

by Ghulam Ali

This book offers a riveting account of Sino-Pakistan ties. It examines the nature of the China-Pakistan relationship from the 1950s until April 2015 when the Chinese President Xi Jinping visited Pakistan. Ghulam Ali takes a historical approach and traces the growth of the alliance underpinned by domestic, regional, and international factors. Contemporary issues pertinent to the alliance have also been examined with a special focus on the successful launch of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The author delves into the expansion of Sino-Pak cooperation especially in economic and trade domains and people-to-people contacts.

4. Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis

by S.M. Burke

This book provides a scholarly and lucid analysis of Pakistan's foreign policy, beginning with the crucial early years after Pakistan gained independence, and leading up to events preceding the Bhutto-Indira summit meeting in July, 1972. The updated edition brings the reader up to the summer of 1989, dealing with the Zulfikar Bhutto and

M. USman Butt

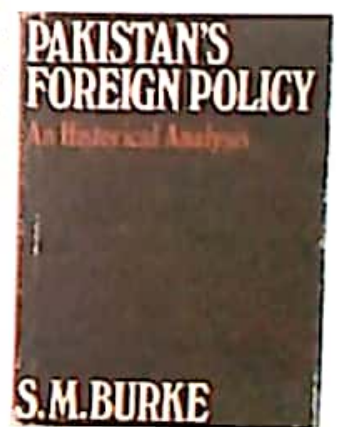


CHINA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Ghulam Ali

OXFORD



Zia-ul-Haq eras, and the elections that brought Benazir Bhutto to power. This study will prove extremely informative to the general readers and specialist alike.

5. Learning to Live With the Bomb: Pakistan: 1998-2016
by Naeem Salik

This work highlights and explores the elements that went into the formulation of Pakistan's nuclear policy. It covers the history of the evolution of Pakistan's nuclear weapons management system, including its nuclear doctrine and the measures in place to secure and safeguard them. The book's great significance lies in the fact that it tackles the little known subject of nuclear learning most comprehensively in all its dimensions. With great clarity and balance, the author clearly highlights the discernible

aspects of Pakistan's learning experience and establishes beyond doubt that Pakistan has learnt from crises events and has evolved into a responsible nuclear weapons state with effective command, control and custodial arrangements in place.

6. Indus Waters Treaty: Political & Legal Dimensions
by Ijaz Hussain

Negotiated under the World Bank auspices, the Indus Waters Treaty settled the water dispute by dividing the Indus Rivers, allocating three Eastern Rivers to India and three Western Rivers to Pakistan. The Treaty worked well for some time but has run into difficulties in recent years. The book deals with the genesis of the dispute, the World Bank's role in its settlement, the Wullar Barrage, Salal, Baglihar and Kishenganga disputes, the impact of climate change on the Treaty, India's current discontentment with the Treaty, and its treatment of

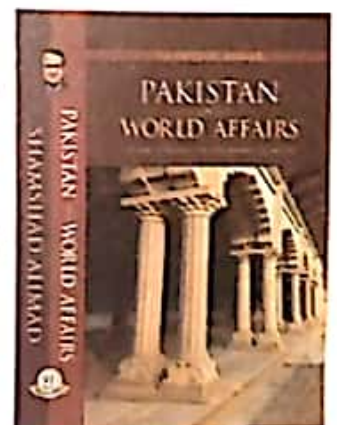
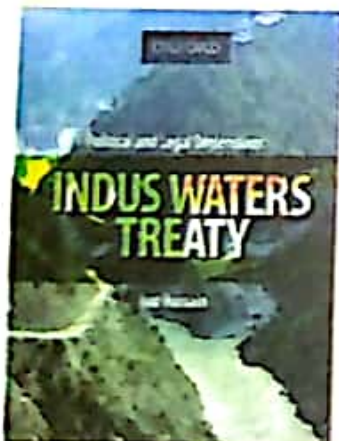
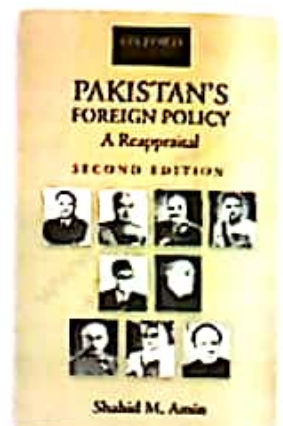
Nepal and Bangladesh on the water issue. Based on declassified World Bank documents, this is the first ever study which approaches the subject from political and legal perspectives.

7. Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal by Shahid M. Amin

This book is a penetrating analysis of Pakistan's foreign policy from the time of Independence in 1947 until the

beginning of the new millennium. The formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy has been discussed from a fresh perspective. The author has tried to pragmatically examine the structural failures of Pakistan's foreign policy making process and calls for new thinking on various aspects of Pakistan's foreign policy, with special emphasis on Pakistan-India relations vis-à-vis Kashmir, and suggests various policy options and indicates their possible consequences for Pakistan. The author makes a strong plea for realism and moderation, taking into account the best interests of Pakistan, particularly in view of the acquisition of nuclear weapons by both India and Pakistan. The book is based on the author's personal observations and analysis during thirty-nine years of diplomatic service as Pakistan's Ambassador and Special Envoy to various countries around the world. The latest edition contains a chapter on the post-9/11 developments in Pakistan's foreign policy.

8. Pakistan and World Affairs by Shamshad Ahmad
"Pakistan and World Affairs" is a book penned by Mr Shamshad Ahmad, a renowned civil servant who had served as Pakistan's Foreign Secretary, and also held other key diplomatic assignments. It is an endeavour to look into the past and present issues of Pakistan, as well as important topics of the world affairs. The book indulges in finding the civilizational roots of the area that now forms Pakistan, and finds out the cultural richness of the Indus Valley Civilization it once cradled. Moving on to the complex interaction of Dravidians and Aryans, to the foundations of the Buddhist culture, to the cultural impact of the Gandhara Empire in the present-day northern Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan, to the Mauryan and the Gupta empires, the author reaches the critical point in history when the first Muslim conquerors arrived in the Subcontinent. In a brief yet engaging narrative, Mr Shamshad familiarizes the reader with the important highlights of history like how Muslim Empire was established in this region of the world. In order to dispel the image of Mehmood Ghaznavi as a mere plunderer of Hindu wealth, Mr Shamshad stresses upon



the fact that it was, in fact, Hindu Raja Jaipal who first attacked and forced Mahmood, who was preparing to invade Central Asia, to turn his attention towards India. The delicacies of the balance of power during the Delhi Sultanate era culminated in the form of a strong centralized force, i.e. the Mughal Empire. As the book enters into the arena of the contemporary issues, one can see the ease and the professional competence with which Mr Shamshad tackles these topics. The topics like Pakistan's foreign policy, economy, civil-military relations, energy crisis and terrorism are discussed with clarity along with the pragmatic solutions highlighted quite intelligently. The origin and role of UN has been examined with the excellence of a diplomat's mind. Moreover, the issue of

reforming UN Security Council has been given a thorough and deep analysis.

This book can prove to be quite useful for the students preparing for the competitive exams. It is a rare blend of National as well as International issues. In words of Mr Shamshad, "The story of Pakistan is one of remorseless tug and pull between the civilian and military rulers on the one hand, and the liberal and religious forces on the other hand." One can frankly conclude that this serpentine path followed by the socio-political forces of Pakistan has been navigated well by Mr Shamshad for the intellectual curiosity and academic pursuits of his readers.

The writer is a member of staff.

Pakistan Foreign Policy in

2020

Highlights



Champion of Afghan Peace Process: brokering peace for a prosperous and inclusive future for the region To this end

- Facilitating US-Taliban Peace Agreement in Feb 2020
- Commencement of Intra-Afghan Negotiations in Sept 2020
- Agreement on rules and procedures between Afghan parties in Doha Dec 2020
- Maiden visit by the Prime Minister to Afghanistan, laying down the foundation of a 'shared vision' for a comprehensive bilateral partnership

Pushing new boundaries for economic diplomacy

- Under the Engage Africa policy, held the first ever Pakistan-Africa Trade Development Conference in Nairobi
- Foreign Minister agenda-setting with each of Pakistan's missions abroad for a greater economic diplomacy footprint

- Foreign Minister agenda-setting with business institutions to forge closer Public-Private ties for greater economic diplomacy impact (Karachi visit to PBCIFPCCI/IBA)
- Prime Minister Imran Khan attending the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos and subsequent virtual Country Strategy Dialogue, setting Pakistan's agenda for economic stability and prosperity

Tabling progressive resolutions for a better world:

- UNGA unanimously adopted Pakistan-sponsored resolution on self-determination, reaffirming the

right to self-determination for peoples subjected to colonial, foreign and alien occupation.

- UNGA adopted a Pakistan co-sponsored resolution calling for respecting sacred religious symbols and promoting inter-religious and intercultural dialogue

The World Recognises a Peaceful Pakistan

- UN, US, UK, Canada, Japan and France all positively revised travel advisories on Pakistan
- Exposing India's state-sponsored terrorism and disinformation agenda

Pakistan: Global Agenda-Shaper

- Ensuring the Kashmir dispute is on the agenda of every regional, multilateral and bilateral forum and engagement.
- Countering Islamophobia: Tabling International day for Islamophobia March 15 / bringing it up at every forum
- Standing up for the inalienable right to self-





determination for the people of Kashmir and Palestine and principled refusal to recognize Israel.

- All of the above encapsulated in Prime Minister Imran Khan's address to UNGA 75
- Pakistan unanimously elected President of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the third principal organ of the UN, along with the General Assembly and Security Council
- Pakistan re-elected to United Nations Human



Rights Council (UNHRC) securing the highest number of votes among the five candidates from the Asia-Pacific region.

- As a manifestation of Pakistan's commitment to the OIC and commitment to brokering peaceful dialogue, Pakistan selected as host for 46th Session of the OPM in 2021
- Launch of FM Connect with Global Thought Leaders, connecting the Foreign Minister with stakeholders across the globe for greater reach and influence
- Welcoming UNGA President Volkan Bozkir to Pakistan, affirmation of Pakistan's commitment to multilateralism
- Pakistan was a key destination for foreign dignitaries, despite Covid-19 this included visits from:
 - President of Turkey
 - Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi
 - Chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia & Herzegovina
 - Secretary General of the UN
 - Chairman of the High Council for National Reconciliation of Afghanistan
 - Speaker of Afghanistan's Wolesi Jirga
 - Chinese State Councillor & Minister of Defence
 - President of Inter-Parliamentary Union
 - President of the United Nations General Assembly
 - Foreign Minister of Iran
- The President of Pakistan and the FM among first

dignitaries to visit China on improvement of Covid-19, in a show of support and belief, thereby strengthening and reinforcing deep-rooted all-weather strategic cooperative partnership

- Visits to Malaysia and Qatar by the Prime Minister to strengthen ties
- And among many digital sessions, attended the 5th round of EU-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue and dialogue with the Turkish and Finnish FM's on the TRT World forum

Pakistan: Moving into a new era of Public & Digital Diplomacy: VISION FO

- Moving Pakistan into a new era of digital connectivity, joining the pioneering Digital Cooperation Organisation for multilateral digital diplomacy, as a founder member
- Establishing bilateral Public Diplomacy Exchange with like-minded countries. The first such relationship was initiated by Pakistan with Turkey
- Established a dedicated Public Diplomacy Consultative Group of former ambassadors and industry stakeholders for focused attention to public policy. Also appointing an Advisor to the Foreign Minister dedicated to Public Diplomacy
- Established a dedicated group for Digital Diplomacy comprising Pakistan's top digital stakeholders
- Creating digital reform within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a new agenda for digital diplomacy through missions and ambassadors, unleashing a state-of-the-art, digitally-enabled media briefing room
- Creation of an app connecting the Foreign Minister with members of the Foreign Office headquarters and across 117 missions for instant communication, breaking the ground in transparent and efficient communication during a time of need (Covid-19)

Pakistan: Humanity First

- Sending aid missions across the globe played a vital role in the history of the country, bringing home over 220,000 stranded Pakistanis across 70 countries, stranded as a result of Covid-19. Additional Missions housed, fed and looked after stranded Pakistanis while securing them a safe passage home
- The Foreign Office established a dedicated 24/7 Crisis Management Unit specifically for the purpose of repatriating stranded Pakistanis
- Pakistan spearheaded an initiative for global debt



relief for developing economies in Covid-hit nations, resulting in relief from the IMF, G-20 and World Bank.

- Pakistan has offered to share Covid-19 best practices at every multilateral forum, from the SCO to SAARC to OIC
- Pakistan undertook a series of humanitarian missions across the world for Covid-19 and beyond: to this end, Pakistan sent medical aid to the US and Syria. Pakistan also sent relief to Niger for flood affectees and to Lebanon for victims of the blast
- Under thought leadership platform VISION FO, launching the 'Foreign Minister's Honours List', celebrating those diaspora community members who brought positive and progressive impact to the countries in which they live and work. This August 2020, Foreign Minister Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Qureshi honoured specifically those diaspora members who demonstrated exceptional contribution to their local communities during the Covid-19 pandemic. [E]



JAHANGIR'S

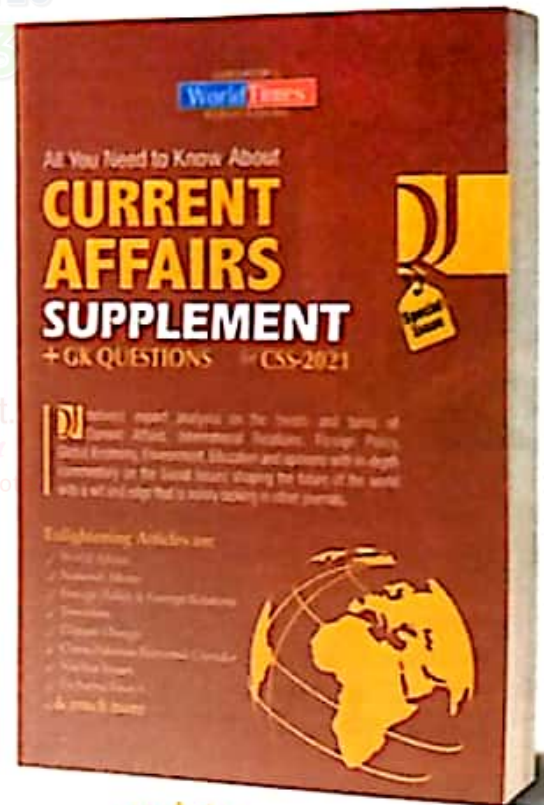
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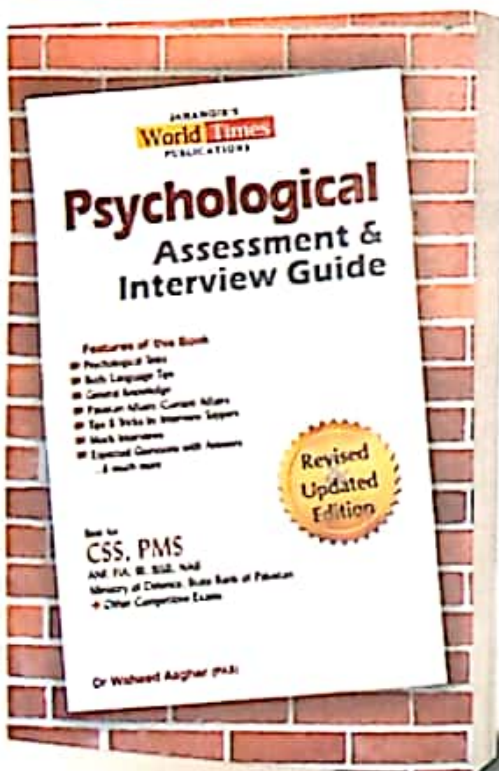
JOINMEFOREASYACCESSTOEBOOKS&NOTES

Highlights

- ✓ COVID's Impact on Pakistan Economy
- ✓ China's Growing Role in Central Asia
- ✓ The Blue Economy
- ✓ The Biden Administration
- ✓ Fixing Pakistan's Power Sector – A Roadmap
- ✓ Good Governance in Pakistan
- ✓ Indian Ocean and Indo-China Rivalry
- ✓ Religious Tourism and Peace Building
- ✓ Conflict and Inter-Faith Harmony
- ✓ Iranian Nuclear Program
- ✓ Realising a Digital Pakistan
- ✓ Israeli-Saudi-Indian Engagement
- ✓ Pakistan-China-Iran Trilateral Cooperation
- ...& much more



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Highlights

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- ... & much more

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INTERVIEW



Nadeem Baloch (PAS)

6th in Pakistan

1st in Sindh Rural

CSS 2019-20

Your answer should be brimming with strong arguments and counter-arguments, references, cause-and-effect relation, facts and figures, quotations, flowcharts and diagrams.

JWT Editorial Board

Jahangir's World Times (JWT): First of all, please tell us about your educational background?
Nadeem Baloch (NB): I did my Intermediate from Saint Bonaventure's High School, Hyderabad. For graduation, I joined Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, from where I earned a BSBA degree.

JWT: Since you have been allocated to Pakistan Administrative Service (PAS), what was the feature of this service that attracted you most?

NB: All services are significant but what PAS offers is standalone in terms of exposure and versatility. This service is a journey from the grassroots level where one interacts with public directly and moves up to the policymaking circles.

JWT: What, in your opinion, is the key to making a difference in written part of CSS exam?

NB: In order to make a difference in the written part of CSS examination, diverse arguments, pragmatic solutions and proper referencing will help. Furthermore, following points must be followed in letter and spirit to secure a distinction.

1. Choose subjects that you have prior understanding of.
2. Cover the syllabus holistically from the recommended books
3. Give 3-4 hours to English daily as this is the foundation of success in CSS
4. Make long and short notes accordingly
5. Read extensively from diverse sources like magazines, books and op-eds
6. Practice is not an option but a necessity; attempt answers for every subject and get them evaluated.

JWT: Generally, compulsory subjects are considered low-scoring, what was your strategy to get through these papers?

NB: My strategy was such that I practiced essay and précis as much as possible, and

got my work evaluated as well. For GSA, my approach was writing crisp and clear answers while explaining with the help of labelled diagrams. For Pakistan Affairs, I focused on pre-partition and post-partition equally and merged it with Current Affairs as syllabi of these two subjects overlap to a great extent. Finally, for Islamic Studies - it was difficult as I failed this paper in first attempt - I covered all topics and made sure that Ahadith, Ayat and references are accurate while keeping length of answers suitable and appropriate.

JWT: How answers should be written to get maximum marks?

NB: First of all, answers should reflect the question, i.e. examiner should know that you have understood the question. So, spend a few minutes on interpreting the question and its requirements.

Secondly, comprehend what examiner is trying to ask, e.g. comment, explanation, analysis or opinion, and respond accordingly.

Thirdly, the introduction part of the answer must have two main features: it must be appealing and should comprise the thesis statement.

Fourthly, your answer should be brimming with strong arguments and counter-arguments, references, cause-and-effect relation, facts and figures, quotations, flowcharts and diagrams.

Lastly, length of the answers must be appropriate; writing must be proper and time should be managed aptly.

JWT: Should there be some word limit kept in mind while writing answers?

NB: I believe one must condition oneself to the 40-minute time for each question. An ideal answer must be between 5 and 7 pages - it makes a word count of 1000-1200 words. Quality of the answer must not be sacrificed on the altar of quantity. So, practice as much as possible.

Detailed Marks Sheet

Subject	Marks
Compulsory Subjects	
Essay	40
Précis & Composition	52
GSA	64
Current Affairs	43
Pakistan Affairs	59
Islamiat	67
Optional Subjects	
Accountancy & Auditing	148
Business Administration	82
Gender Studies	45
International Law	56
Sociology	63
Total Written	719
Viva Voce	160
Grand Total	879

My Interview Experience

JWT: How did you structure your Essay and what was your strategy for Précis and Composition paper?

NB: Essay: In Essay, I made an outline that was simple yet appealing. It comprised a thesis statement wherein I presented description of the answer and counter-perspective before going on to causes, impacts and recommendations. Introduction started with something appealing like an anecdote or poetry. All the body paragraphs were synchronized owing to proper planning and minimal use of connectors. I included pertinent facts and figures only and relied on solid argument base. Conclusion was the mirror of my essay with inclination towards suggestions or positive sides. Finally, I proofread my essay for 10 minutes.

Précis and Composition: I practiced the past papers and wrote one-third summary of daily Dawn editorials couple of times a week.

I studied for reading comprehension as well from different websites and books so this aspect must not be overlooked. As for vocabulary, the GRE wordlist or SAT wordlist would suffice. I made a separate English wordlist as well. I paid equal attention to punctuation, idioms, correction, analogy, prepositions and translation.

JWT: How a new aspirant should start his/her preparations for CSS exam?

NB: My approach was simple and straightforward: study English constantly for a few hours daily, and give remaining time to one subject of your choice. This way, an aspirant will continue to work on English while focusing, simultaneously, on the other subjects. This was my approach; I started with Gender Studies, and completed all optional subjects before going on to compulsory subjects while English was a constant.

My Tips on:

Selection of optional subjects

One must have the background knowledge or prior experience with subjects that one is opting for. Strange choices lead to strange outcomes; so, do think well before opting for a subject while keeping in mind its complexity, your background knowledge, contents, past papers, interests and time constraints. Subjects that one has studied in degree program must be given preference.

Notes-making

If CSS is a body, then notes are a brain as they help candidates recall what they have learned during the preparation phase. My approach with regard to notes making was as follows:

Every interview starts with the participant's introduction and that's where I made a difference. I am adventurous by nature and so was Mr Chairman. So, I incorporated one of my adventures in my introduction which really took Mr Chairman by storm. When he asked me about the problems of the contemporary world, I gave one problem, that is, state-sponsored terrorism and therefrom, questions regarding Indian history started which I was able to respond well. Next panellist threw a flurry of questions on Hong Kong which I was able to respond to without panicking. Third panellist asked me questions from International Law which was my optional subject, and I was able to deliver on that satisfactorily. Last member of the panel asked questions regarding corporate finance which I wasn't able to answer properly. Overall, my interview was very good as I convinced the panellists that I deserved a job. I stood first in Sindh as far as interview marks are concerned which, indeed, is an honour. For those who are appearing for interviews, I would like to suggest that be calm and composed, confident, well-read and well-spoken to score good.



1. First of all, I collected and read the reference material
2. Then made long notes of the material I had studied
3. Lastly, I made short notes a month or two before the final exam.

Revision

At least a month should be allocated for revision, and all subjects must be revised in that period. I used to write down outlines of the past papers and short notes of important topics in the revision period. After taking mock exams, I used to brush up on my knowledge and short notes.

Rapid Fire

Your inspiration	The dream of my father
Attempts	02
Qualification	Bachelors of Science in Business Administration (BSBA)
Alma mater	Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad
Schooling medium	English
Your study schedule	9-11 hours a day
Your sources	Research articles, magazines, newspapers, recommended books and compiled notes
Group preferences	1. PAS 2. PSP 3. IRS
Academy or Institute you joined	World Times Institute
Why PAS?	It offers is a dynamic job that starts from the field and, moving from different departments and divisions, goes on to the policymaking circles
Hobbies	Bodybuilding, watching movies, playing cricket and badminton
Fave personality	Imam Hussain (RA)
Fave book	The God of Small Things by Arundhati Roy
Fave quote	"There is some good in this world and it is worth fighting for." J.R.R.Tolkien
Secret of your success	Consistent hard work, discipline, determination and deriving motivation from trivial things
Your role model	My father

The secret of Pakistan's Covid-19 Success



When the novel coronavirus first arrived in Pakistan in late February last year, there was widespread concern about the country's ability to manage the increased disease burden. Covid-19 cases were rising quickly as people returned home from other regional hotspots, and the public-health system urgently needed to be reinforced.

Magazine Desk

With the outbreak of Covid-19 pandemic, Pakistan turned to the team working to eradicate polio. Pakistan and neighbouring Afghanistan are now the only two countries in the world where wild poliovirus remains endemic, after Africa was recently declared free of the disease. The Pakistani government works closely with the Global Polio Eradication Initiative—a partnership including Rotary International; the World Health Organisation; Unicef; the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance; and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation—to vaccinate children in every corner of the country and track the virus to its remaining redoubts.

Pakistan has made major progress in combating polio. Some 35 years ago, children paralysed by polio would wait at nearly every traffic intersection and beseech passers-by for support. Today, it is extremely uncommon to find young people affected by polio—a testament to the eradication program's efficacy.

But in March 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic forced the polio program to suspend its vaccination campaigns in order to protect the health and safety of its workforce and local communities. The expertise and infrastructure that have been instrumental in combating polio pivoted quickly to stopping Covid-19, which has proved critical in Pakistan's response. This underscores the importance of continued international investment in the polio program—not only to stop polio, but also to address other health priorities. Renewed financial commitment now could provide just the catalyst the country needs.

Crucially, the polio program is helping to monitor the spread of the coronavirus using some of the same methods and tools it employs to track poliovirus, including collecting and analysing sewage samples. To slow the rate of both Covid-19 and polio infections, the program now tracks and tests for the two viruses in tandem. To date, more than 100

labs across Pakistan have been adapted to test for Covid-19 and collect data on when and where the

coronavirus is infecting people.

Although Covid-19 itself can have potentially devastating consequences, misinformation about the virus can compound the threat by eroding public trust in the pandemic response. Having had years of practice in responding to similar rumours and falsehoods, the polio program is now using social media platforms, especially WhatsApp, to disseminate Covid-19 prevention messages and engage trusted community influencers and religious leaders to provide people with accurate health information. Within the first few months of the pandemic, the program reached nearly 25 million individuals through social media channels alone.

The polio program has also been creative in its use of other platforms to furnish the public with reliable information. For example, the Sehat Tahaffuz 1166 health protection help line in Islamabad was originally designed to give parents and care-givers information about polio and other vaccines, but now fields up to 70,000 calls per day since the Covid-19 pandemic began. The hotline provides advice about symptoms and preventive measures, as well as contact information for testing centres and connections to hospitals for medical support.

Despite significant challenges, Pakistan has succeeded in keeping rates of Covid-19 cases and deaths relatively low, thanks, in part, to the rapid deployment of polio prevention infrastructure. In early September, WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus praised the country's pandemic preparation and response, while the US economist Lawrence Summers recently touted Pakistan's Covid-19 control program as an exemplar.

Unfortunately, the suspension of polio vaccination campaigns from March through August has undoubtedly caused poliovirus to spread more widely throughout the country, in part prompting the WHO and Unicef to launch an emergency call to action to help avert a potential epidemic. Campaigns have now resumed with added safety measures for vaccinators and families, while the program remains committed to supporting the Covid-19 response. But these disruptions serve as a reminder of how quickly progress against polio and other diseases can be reversed.

By investing further in Pakistan's polio program, the world will enable the country to tackle both longstanding and emerging global health threats more effectively. The Covid-19 challenge clearly shows that such support has never been needed more. ■



The highlights of Polar Lights

Each year, Capturetheatlas.com showcases the best images of northern and southern lights from across the world. Here is a selection of the majestic auroras.



Usman Ahmad

1. 'Heavenly Dance'

This picture of the rocky Barents Sea coast was taken on Kola Peninsula, in northwestern Russia, by Sergey Korolev. "I was mesmerized by the shape of the boulders," says Korolev, "as well as the steep mountains rising from the sea." It took Korolev several attempts over numerous days to capture these northern lights.



2. 'The Hunt's Reward'

Ben Maze captured this stunningly colourful image at Lion Rock, southern Tasmania. It shows three astronomical phenomena: aurora australis, the setting Milky Way galactic core, and zodiacal light. The latter is visible in a diffuse white glow, which results from sunlight scattered by interplanetary dust.



3. 'Antarctic Night'

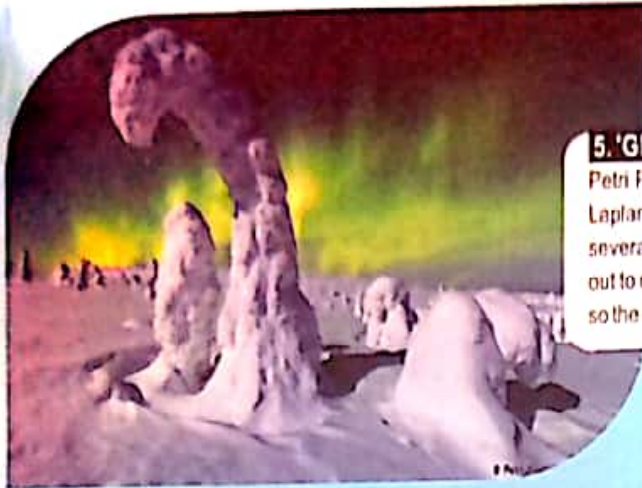
This long time-lapse picture was taken at the IceCube Neutrino Observatory on the South Pole, at temperatures around -60 degrees Celsius. Eberhardt says it was the product of a "learning curve over multiple months, with a lot of trial and error and frostbite." Though, he also says, "Once you have tackled all the challenges, you have plenty of reasons to be proud of your shots."



4. 'Lofoten Ice Lights'

The Lofoten Islands are located only a few hundred kilometres north of the Arctic Circle. Numerous travel magazines list them among the world's most beautiful archipelagos — northern lights are easily spotted in this region. This image was taken by Dennis Hellwig, squeezed in between two icicles.





5. 'Ghosts of the Fall'

Petri Puurunen took this surreal picture with bright northern lights in the Finnish part of Lapland. These snow-covered candle spruces are up to 10 metres tall and can weigh several tonnes. One clear night, with temperatures at -24 degrees Celsius, Puurunen set out to capture this landscape. He recalls how the "half-moon was illuminating the scenery, so the conditions were nearly perfect."

6. 'Vikings in the Sky'

Nico Rinaldi took this jaw-dropping picture in Iceland. He remembers reaching this location and seeing "an imposing mountain lying on a volcanic black sand beach, surrounded by large dunes created by the wind." It was this "concentration of beautiful natural elements" that really impressed him. After waiting for the clouds to clear, he got the opportunity to snap this incredible picture.



7. 'Lights in the Land of Living Skies'

Jeanine Holowatuik captured this beautiful image of northern lights in Saskatchewan, Canada, in May last year. "The moon was illuminating the clouds and the northern lights reached overhead," she recalls. "It was a magical moment!" Holowatuik says she was able to witness the spectacle near her home until the early hours of the morning.

8. 'Natural Mystique'

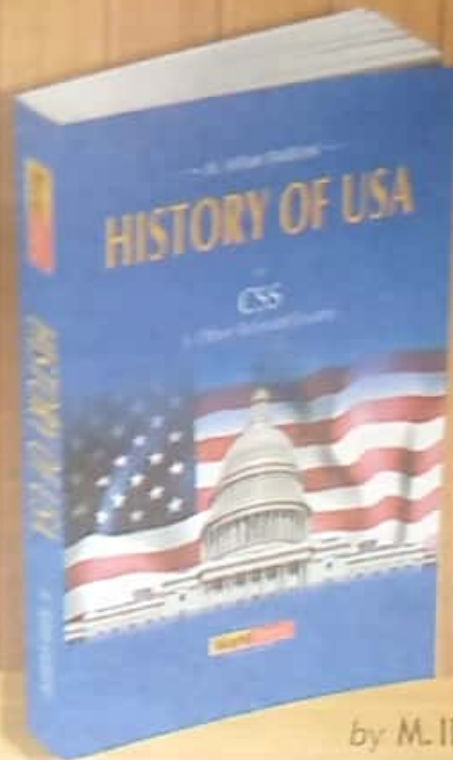
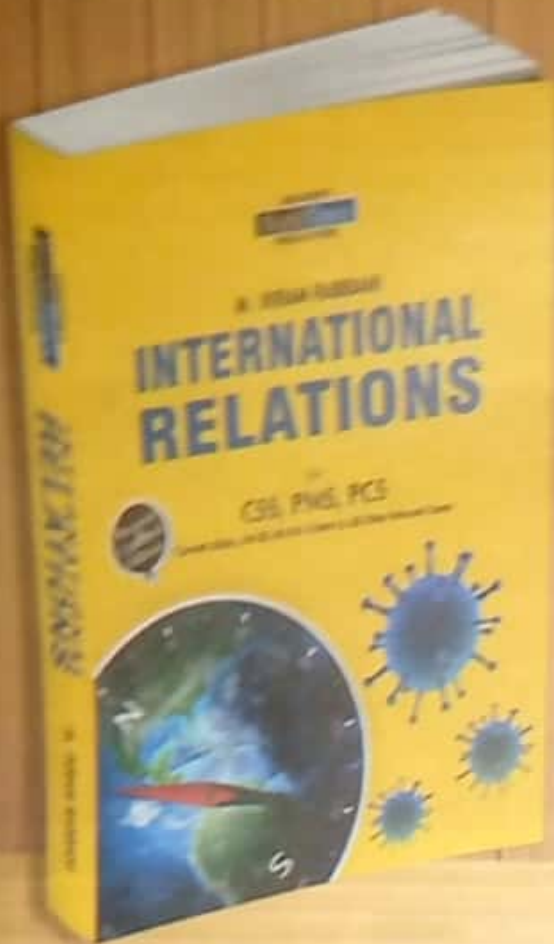
Virginia Ylera photographed this stunning photo on a windy November night in Iceland. She recalls how it was "one of the most spectacular moments I have experienced chasing the northern lights." Frigid wind and spray from the waterfall presented serious challenges, forcing her to continuously wipe the lens dry and adjust the exposure. But then "the lights exploded and all the effort paid off."



WHAT ARE THE NORTHERN LIGHTS?

The Northern Lights, also known as the Aurora Borealis, are an astronomical natural phenomenon consisting of displays of lights across the earth's night sky, mostly visible at the highest latitudes of our planet. Specifically, the Northern Lights are produced when ionized particles (cosmic radiation) collide with the oxygen and nitrogen atoms present in our magnetosphere. Therefore, the Northern Lights are the result of billions of energized molecules that emit small flashes of light when they hit our planet, visible only at night.

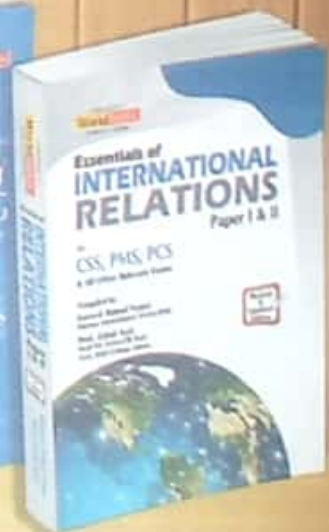
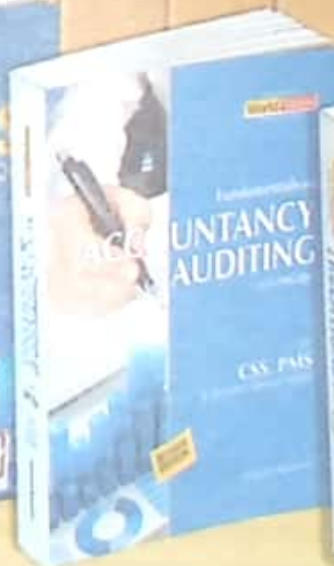
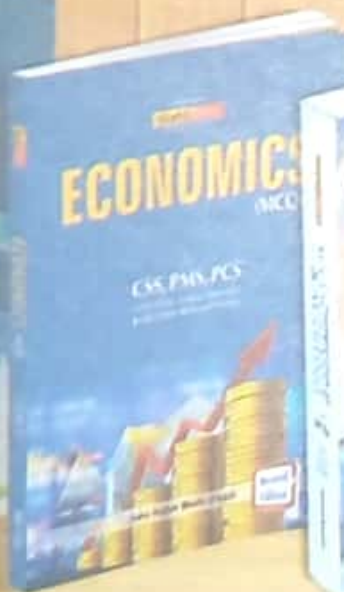
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In Conversation with

Haroon Akhter

59th in Punjab,
PMS 2019-20

JWT is, indeed, a treasure trove of knowledge with diversity and multiplicity of ideas, concepts and write-ups. I maintained a backlog of all magazines and prepared topics of choice from that.



INTERVIEW

JWT Editorial Board

Jahangir's World Times (JWT): First of all, please tell us about your educational background?

Haroon Akhter (HA): I belong to District Okara. I completed my education till middle from my hometown, and matriculation from MC High School, Okara — I stood first in the district. Then, I got admission to GC University Lahore. However, due to some unavoidable reasons, I had to migrate back to my hometown. Afterwards, I did intermediate from the local Government Boys College, and later earned a doctor of veterinary medicine degree from College of Veterinary and Animal Sciences, Jhang.

JWT: How much helpful did you find Jahangir's World Times (JWT) in your preparation for PMS exam?

HA: I used to read JWT magazine since my university days. It is, indeed, a treasure trove of knowledge with diversity and multiplicity of ideas, concepts and write-ups. I maintained a backlog of all magazines and prepared topics of choice from that. It helped me in the critical appraisal of topics especially those related to Pakistan Affairs and Current Affairs.

JWT: What, in your opinion, is the key to getting through compulsory papers of PMS exam, especially that of General Knowledge?

HA: Compulsory part of PMS exams is indubitably a bumpy ride for most aspirants. English, Urdu, General Knowledge and Pakistan Affairs are considered the biggest impediments to success. However, proper understanding of the technicalities involved in these subjects coupled with smart work and correct combination of reading material can help aspirants solve this Sphinx's riddle.

JWT: How answers should be written to get maximum marks in the written part of PMS exam?

HA: Well, first of all, maintaining proper symmetry among all subjects is indispensable. I would like to advise aspirants to make each subject their strength by giving equal time and attention to all. Selection of question, presentation, citations (quotes, reports, indices, graphs, flowcharts, etc.) and time management must be done in a properly chiselled manner.

JWT: How did you structure your Essay?

HA: I attempted essay on "Socioeconomic Impacts of CPEC on Pakistan's Development". I organized it by first giving a brief introduction, followed by 3 transitory paragraphs, establishment of facts (socioeconomic impacts), some allegations on this project, practical recommendations and a decent conclusion. I adorned my essay with relevant terminologies, references and facts and figures.

JWT: What was your strategy for the General Knowledge paper?

HA: I categorized General Knowledge into relevant parts, e.g. Pakistan Affairs, Current Affairs, Islamiyat, Geography and Biology, and consulted relevant books, Internet and past papers to gain maximum knowledge. I have been good at general knowledge but this paper still gave me a tough time on the paper day. Owing to negative marking in this very paper, I would advise students to wisely do their maths while

My Interview Experience

My interview started with analytical part as one worthy panellist asked me about microfinancing, influence of Modi on India, democratic trajectory of Pakistan, military interventions and reasons of delay in BRT project. Another panellist grilled me with questions from my optional subjects and current affairs. Then, I was asked questions from my academic background. In the end, Mr Chairman asked questions about geography, polity, economy and current affairs. It all ended on a positive note and Mr Chairman wished me luck.

attempting it.

JWT: Should there be some word limit kept in mind while writing answers?

HA: The quality over quantity mantra sounds good at face value but in this 'cut-throat, fierce competition', I think one must not be swayed by such sweeping statements. Quality and quantity should not be compromised at each other's expense and both should be done full justice through consistent practice.

JWT: Is it better to attempt optional papers in Urdu or one should go with English only?

HA: Keeping in view the fact that most aspirants prepare for both PMS and CSS exams simultaneously, English would justify the demands of smart study as both exams can be attempted in it. Moreover, quality books in Urdu are not available in the market or even in most libraries. So, proceed in a wise and prudent manner.

JWT: How one should choose Optional Subjects?

HA: One should neither be obsessed with scoring trend nor should totally neglect it. Personal flair, aptitude for a certain subject and academic background should be factored into while mulling over

Advice for Fresh Aspirants
Stay motivated!



choosing a perfect combination. Once carefully chosen, all optional subjects should be prepared in a seamless way by having an in-depth and analytical knowledge

JWT: Who deserves the credit for your success?

HA: Prayers of my parents, support and encouragement of friends and the tutelage of my respected mentors helped me wade through the uncharted waters during this voyage.

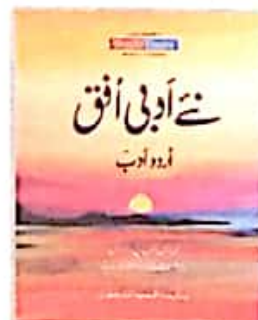
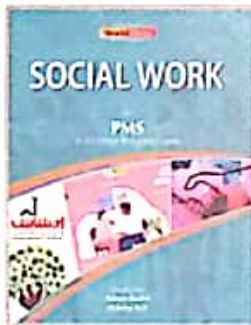
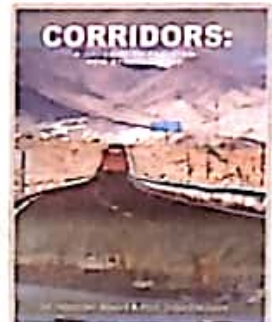
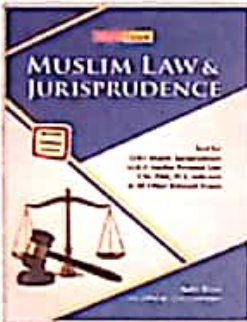
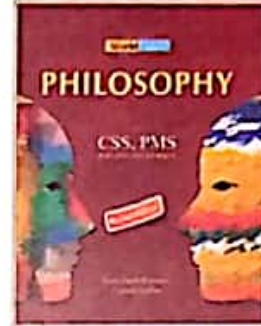
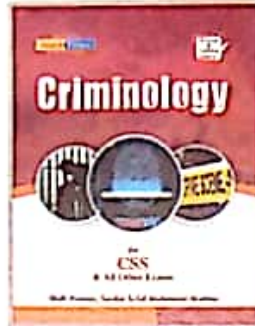
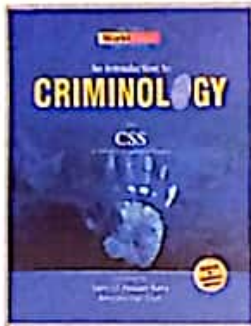
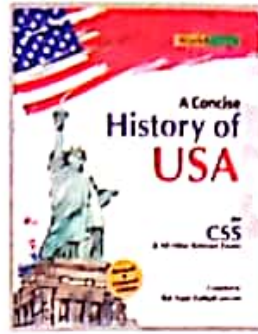
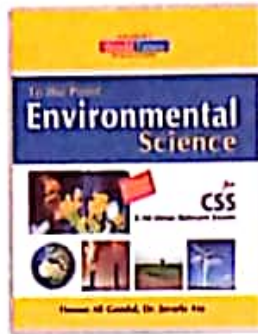
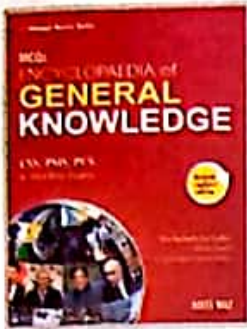
JWT: As interviewers usually grill the interview candidates, how did you manage the situation?

HA: My interview experience was not that good as I dropped many a question. I was grilled with wide-ranging, analytical and objective questions. I tried to explain all as per the best of my knowledge. One panellist tried to unnerve me at the start; however, I remained calm and poised. Managing confidence, expressions and stress is the mainstay of your success in the interview. ■

Rapid Fire

Your inspiration	My mentor Sir Asim Raza
Attempts	01
Schooling medium	Both Urdu & English
Your qualification	DVM (Doctor of Veterinary Medicine)
Alma mater	CVAS Jhang
Your study schedule	8-10 hours a day
Your sources	Newspapers, journals, JWT magazines, internet and books
Your hobbies	Playing badminton and chess, playing guitar, debating, travelling, watching movies, reading books
Your strength	Communication and socialization
Fave personality	Alexandria Ocasio Cortez (an American politician)
Fave book	Attitude Is Everything by Jeff Keller
Fave quote	"For the silk to survive, the silkworm had to die." — Elif Shafak
Secret of your success	Motivation and persistence
Your role model	The Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (ﷺ)

Aspirants' #1 Choice



+ more subjects



HOW TO ACE THE CSS INTERVIEW

A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE

After qualifying the written part of Competitive Examinations like CSS and PMS, the candidates have to appear before a board or panel of the respective Public Service Commission for the interview — a 'game changer' phase in the selection process whereby your fate, or in other words allocation to a service or department, is determined.

Competitive Exams' Interview

- ✓ In CSS, the interview part carries 300 marks and a candidate who fails to secure at least 100 marks fails ergo not eligible for appointment.
- ✓ In PMS, the detail of marks and those required to qualify is as under:
Punjab: 200 (100 marks to qualify)
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: 300 (40% or 120 marks)
Balochistan: 200 (50% or 100 marks)
Sindh: 250 (30% or 75 marks)



Interview Duration and Process

- ✓ In CSS and PMS, each candidate is interviewed for, on average, between 30 and 45 minutes.
- ✓ During the interview, the panellists ask questions from various fields of knowledge.
- ✓ They lay special emphasis on your optional subjects in bachelor's or master's degree as well as those you had chosen for the written part of the exam.
- ✓ During recent years, a new trend has emerged: interviewers are asking questions from previous job experience of a candidate, e.g. designation, company environment, reasons for leaving, and so on.



Duration of the interview does not determine your good or bad performance: it is pure quality time that actually matters.



Panel

- ✓ The panel consists of members of the respective public service commission, who have vast experience in the recruitment of officers.
- ✓ They are veteran bureaucrats and/or people from other fields, e.g. retired judges, retired army officers.



Purpose of Interview

To assess your personality, leadership quality, integrity, knowledge and suitability for the services.



EXAM PACK

Why interview is a game-changer?

- ✓ It is a golden opportunity to gain maximum advantage in minimum time.
- ✓ In the past, many candidates, having low score in the written part, were able to clinch top position with an excellent score in the interview.
- ✓ You need to have an intelligent plan of action and do a lot of practice. And, above all, you should know how to work smartly.



How Does the Panel Work?

- ✓ The Panelists have before them a record of your career, both academic and extramural.
- ✓ They take into consideration your performance during the Psychological Assessment phase.
- ✓ Your extramural activities like sports, etc., and their effects on your physique and character, are also considered while determining your merit.
- ✓ They attach particular importance to your moral and ethical qualities, intelligence, alertness of mind, vigour and strength of character, as well as potential qualities of leadership.

Note

The Panelists also assess candidates keeping in view their potential as a good future officer in a particular Service/Group. For example, you prioritized Police Service of Pakistan but panelists allocated you in Foreign Service because they thought you will give your best in that Service.

A Good Introductory Speech

Duration: 3 Min Maximum

- Mention your full name (If Interviewer has addressed you with your name, don't re-state your name)
- Mention your hometown or area you belong to.
- State your academic background. Start from the latest degree. Mentioning one or two degrees would suffice. Also mention the name of your alma mater.
- If you have exceptional scores in a degree or a particular area, do mention that.
- Also specify the research project or conference papers, if any, you have authored or presented.
- You should also highlight extracurricular activities if you have any distinction in them.
- If you are serving, or have served, as a professional in any sector, mention your areas of expertise, your job description,

and any extraordinary performance or contribution there.

- Your strengths should reflect upon professional, academic or intellectual aspects of your personality.

Note: The strengths you mention must be those you fit in well. It should not be a random selection.

- Briefly talk about your family. You may start with mentioning your parents and your siblings. You can highlight their professions or academic background. But do keep it short.
- You can also mention your hobbies, your favourite personality that has left indelible imprints on your life.
- The panelists will ask you questions from the details you provided in the application form. So, you should fill up that with things you have much knowledge of.
- Close your introduction with an effective and powerful tone.



Top 10 Tips for an Elaborate Preparation

Before starting preparations for the interview, bear in mind:
"GOD HELPS THOSE WHO HELP THEMSELVES."

During your preparations, you must:

1. Collect the questions asked in the interview during the previous years and then prepare a list of at least 50 most expected questions, by also adding current developments in national and international affairs.

Example: The recent storming of Capitol Hill in Washington DC. While preparing for questions on this, you must know the political background of the event, potential implications for President Trump and the role US Congress can play in punishing the culprits, and so on.

2. Seek guidance from CSPs who have secured excellent marks in the interview.

3. Watch interviews of successful CSPs on World Times YouTube channel "World Times CSS Videos". In the light of what you learned from these interviews, polish your personality thoroughly. Also, improve your command of the language.

4. Read newspapers religiously to stay abreast of the important happenings around the world. Also, pay more attention to editorial section to make an opinion of your own on a topic.

5. Listen to debates and current affairs shows. Also, keenly watch movies, documentaries and other informative videos.

6. Collect maximum possible details about your birthplace, e.g. renowned personalities from your city or town, problems faced by the local people and possible solutions for the same as questions on these may be asked.

7. To create the idiomatic "positive first impression," prepare and practice a short introductory speech that you will make when asked to do so.

8. Prepare yourself for discussion on any topic from your Optional Subjects — of bachelor's and master's degrees as well as those in your exam. Also, brush up on recent happenings related to these subjects.

9. As an old saying goes, "A good lawyer knows the law, a great lawyer knows the judge." So, know the panelists and their nature well, and prepare such answers that would satisfy them.

10. Practice, practice and practice. Give mock interviews. Take the feedback seriously and tailor your strategy accordingly.

Day before the interview

- Have a cursory look at your notes for optional subjects
- Revise your noted points from the psychological assessment
- Memorize the details you have provided in your application form
- Review answers to most commonly asked questions
- Before going for the interview, you must also read that day's newspaper in great detail. Go through even its flag where details like name of the newspaper, date (both Gregorian and Islamic calendar), etc. are given.
- Watch a comedy movie, a drama or engage yourself in some recreational activity to relax your muscles.
- Have a good sleep the night before the interview



Deliver this speech only IF ASKED to do so

The Interview

When you are asked to go into the interview room, enter after seeking permission. Move elegantly and take your seat with permission. Then, settle down and compose yourself. Now, your interview with FPSC panel starts. It usually consists of four phases:

1. Personal Profile

2. Question on Academics

3. Why PMS/CSS or a Group/Service?

4. Personality Assessment

1. Personal Profile

In this phase, questions usually related to the candidate's introduction, background (personal, educational and family), the reason(s) to choose some particular optional subjects, the reason(s) to join the civil service, co- and extracurricular activities like sports are asked.

Sample Questions and Answers

Please introduce yourself. 1. 2.

1. Start by thanking the interviewer for allowing you the opportunity to introduce yourself.
2. Deliver your already prepared introductory speech, but ONLY IF ASKED to do so. But, it must not exceed a three-minute time.

"What are your favourite sports?" OR "What are your hobbies?"

Mention the ones that depict the strength of your personality.

For instance, if you mention trekking, you must give some details as well, e.g. routes, distance of that place from your city, suitable weather conditions, the altitude of the mountains and so on, in such a way that the panellists get an idea that you are a strong person who keeps in view even minute details while deciding about a thing.

What is your favourite movie?

1. Do mention the role of the protagonist and the names of the other characters, writer and director of the movie, its release year and so on.
2. Also have some info about other movies of its director, author or hero.

What are your strengths/weaknesses?

1. This question requires high mental alertness on your part. While mentioning the strong points of your personality, do name the ones that show the strength of character. Pick on positive aspects of your personality.
2. Even if you are to tell about your weak points, give the ones that have some positivity attached, e.g. you may say: I'm a perfectionist or I'm not good at delegating – such an answer means that you take keen interest in doing a job and also take full responsibility of decisions you made.

Some Personal Questions asked during previous years

- ✓ What qualities do you feel a career civil servant should possess?
- ✓ What are the qualities that you think can make you a good civil servant?
- ✓ Why did you decide to shift your career path?
- ✓ What is the aim of your life?
- ✓ What are your hobbies?
- ✓ What sort of a person you are?
- ✓ What is the significance of the area you belong to?
- ✓ What is your caste?
- ✓ Who is your favourite personality and why?
- ✓ What are your favourite books?

3. Why PMS/CSS or PAS, PSP, FSP or any other Group/Service?

Although a common question, it is the most important one, as you tell in it the panellists about your passion, goals, interests and the motivation to join the civil services. For a sound performance in this segment:

- ✓ You must be privy to the nature, scope and future of those.
- ✓ Your response should be built on the aspect of public service, empathy, belief in social change, the meaningfulness of life and the lofty ideals that you cherish.
- ✓ Also, tell how civil service is the most effective platform for realizing those.

Tip

Your response must not paint Civil Service is a better profession than any other one, e.g. engineering, medicine, law, etc.

A Sample Answer: Civil Services offers the best prospects for contributing toward the change you believe in. The richness of diversity of experiences, vertical and horizontal career progression, the versatility of tasks and duties assigned and the real essence of policy-making in the highest echelons of power are some of the features that were attractive for me.



2. Question on Academics

In this segment, the panellists ask questions related to your optional subjects, especially those in the written part of the exam. They may ask questions like:

- ✓ What did you learn from the subject?
- ✓ What are the main theories and concepts of that subject?
- ✓ What are the government's short- and long-term policies to resolve the issues in the domain of that subject?

Example: If you had opted for Criminology, questions related to the criminal justice system of Pakistan and the latest pieces of legislation may be asked. In Gender Studies, issues faced by women, ramifications of gender discrimination, global gender gap reports, etc. may come under discussion.

- ✓ In order to sail through this part successfully, do revise the notes you made for the written part.
- ✓ You must also keep yourself abreast of the latest developments in that domain.

Sample Questions on Optional Subjects

International Relations

1. What are Abraham Accords and which countries are involved therein?
2. What would be the effect of the recognition of Israel on the Middle East region?
3. What is the recent US legislation on the Tibet issue?
4. What is China-Containment Policy?
5. Why Saudi Arabia has normalized its relations with Qatar?

Political Science

1. What is the difference between political philosophies of Plato and Aristotle?
2. What is Rousseau's view on music and literature?
3. What is Rousseau's political philosophy?
4. What is political correctness? Differentiate between hypocrisy and political correctness.
5. Briefly introduce the concepts of deep State and military industrial complex.

Sociology

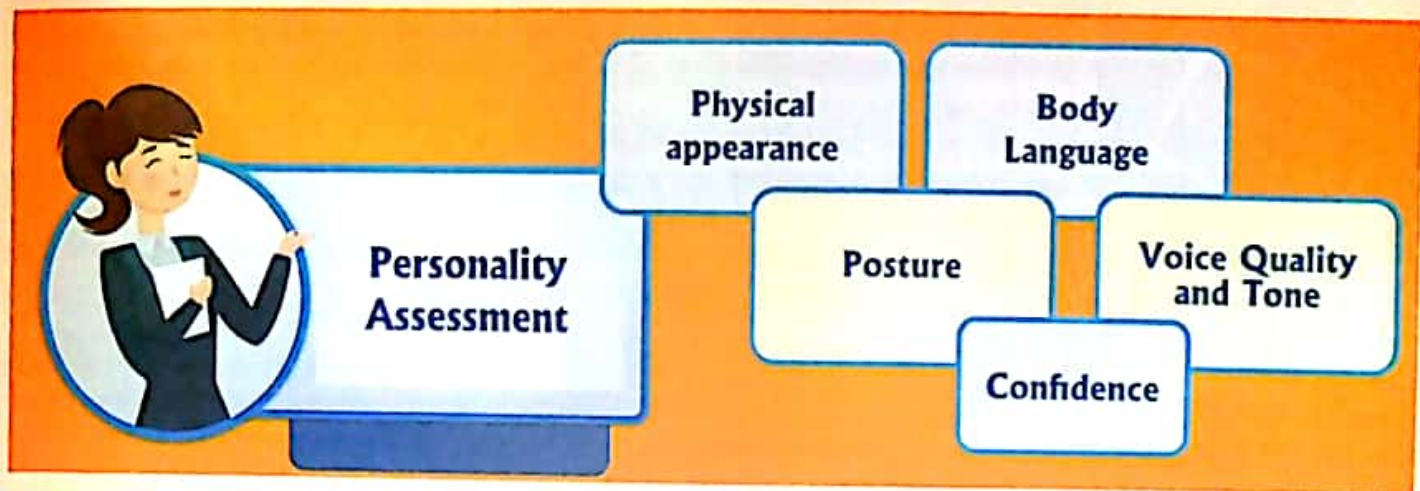
1. What do you know about the concept of rise and fall of civilizations?
2. What are some important contributions of Durkheim and Weber to sociology?
3. What is social capital, also name its different types and components?

Gender studies

1. What is fourth-wave feminism?
2. Is MeToo a part of fourth-wave feminism?

Environmental Science

1. How the terms carbon dating, carbon footprint and carbon cycle are different from each other?
2. What was the Montreal Protocol?
3. What was the Kyoto Protocol?



4. Assessment of your personality

Interviews are generally two-pronged assessment:

What is Your Personality?

It is the sum-total of all what you have seen, learned and experienced in your life. Since it cannot be changed overnight, take out some time for yourself and start grooming your personality with healthy activities.

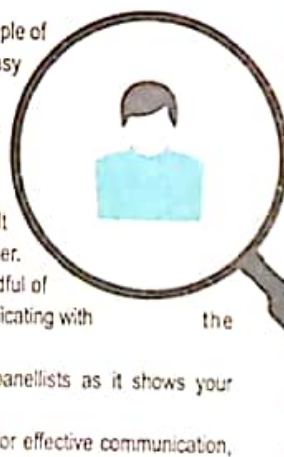
a. Physical appearance

- ✓ Be presentable on the interview day.
- ✓ Dress up smartly and appropriately, and keeping in view the weather conditions.
- ✓ Wear a suit which you have tried a couple of times before so that it doesn't feel uneasy to you.
- ✓ Your personal cleanliness must also be immaculate.

b. Body Language

Body language means how you carry yourself. It speaks volumes about your personality and character. In order to make a strong first impression, be mindful of the messages that your body language is communicating with the interviewer. To present a better you:

- ✓ Do maintain eye contact with the panellists as it shows your confidence.
- ✓ Use hand movements and gestures for effective communication, but **DO NOT** overdo that.
- ✓ Nod your head once or twice — not more than that — it conveys a message that you are listening attentively. Nodding your head excessively can be considered sycophantic.
- ✓ Let your eyes blink naturally, as excessive blinking implies that you are feeling the pressure.
- ✓ Neither laugh-out-loud nor be a robot sort of person; be decent, give a pleasant look.



Remember: The line between being confident and overconfident, ambitious and overambitious and confidence and arrogance is very thin and fine.

c. Posture

- ✓ Move, sit and stand tall as a slouched posture reflects anxiety, uncertainty and low self-esteem.
- ✓ Similarly, cross-legged sitting posture indicates your lack of interest and the shaking of legs signals nervousness and anxiety.
- ✓ Keep your head high
- ✓ Sync your movements with your words.

By doing so, you will appear highly confident, which is what panellists want to see you as.

d. Voice Quality and Tone

- ✓ The tone of your voice is a reflection of your body language.
- ✓ To create a good impression during the interview, a positive tone is no less than obligatory, as this shows confidence.
- ✓ Besides, the clarity of voice demonstrates that you have excellent communication skills. The tone of voice can convey a number of things to an interviewer such as eagerness, or a lack of it, emotion and mood.
- ✓ "It's not what you said, it's how you said it" holds true for interview.

e. Confidence

A superlative level of confidence is a must for acing the CSS Interview. To maximise your confidence:

- ✓ Your energy should be focused on building a rapport with the panellists rather than impressing them.
- ✓ Respond to the questions with confidence and answer when you are sure about.
- ✓ You must be very confident even if you do not know the answer.
- ✓ Do not fall silent after saying NO; say I will surely try to learn about that.

Important

Say what you believe in and believe in what you say. If you say what you truly believe in, you will sail successfully through the cross-questioning session. Remember, one cannot defend for long a point of view which one does not actually believe in.

Drive Your Interview

In order to get impressive marks in the interview, you should try to be in the driving seat. For that purpose:

- 1 If an issue comes under discussion, do present a positive and pragmatic solution
- 2 Present it in a way that panellists agree to it and can't help themselves say, "Yes, you are right!"

Some Examples:

Governance Issues

If there is "Problems of governance" under discussion, give a solution by mentioning its two domains, i.e. Bureaucracy and the Executive.

- On Bureaucratic governance, mention that ensuring meritocracy — right man for the right job — as a panacea.
- On Executive governance, give your suggestions based on different successful models, e.g. Lee Kuan Yew model in Singapore

Kashmir Issue

- Give pragmatic solutions on the basis of different conflict-resolution models. Reproducing the bookish knowledge can be counterproductive.

Education

- For reforming the education sector, cite examples from Finland's system as it is regarded as one of the best in the world, with well-paid teachers, plenty of recess time, and less emphasis on homework and tests, as its core features.

Economic Issues

- On economic issues, quote references from the policies adopted by Dr Mahathir Mohamad in Malaysia, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in Turkey, as these policies have made their countries economic powers within a limited span of time.

Population Management

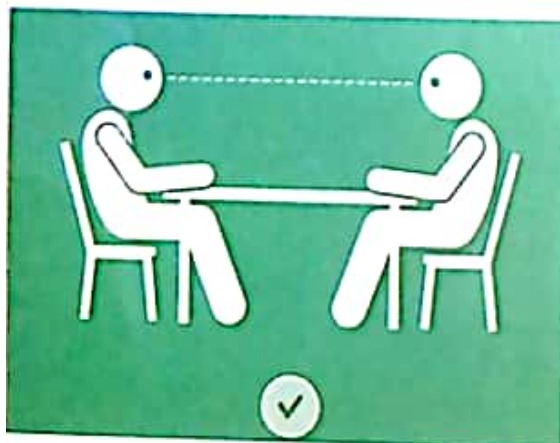
- Give examples from China model and Singapore model as these countries have successfully managed the unbridled population growth.

Things to remember during the interview

1. Listen to the panellists attentively; it gives an impression of respect and also helps you understand fully what they are asking about, and formulate your response accordingly.
2. Maintain good eye contact in a way that exudes your respect for the panellists.
3. Do not give facial expressions that may evince your liking or disliking for the answer. Listen from your ears, not your eyes — no raised eyebrows, widened eyes, looking here and there, etc.
4. Do not lock horns with the panellists. You have to converse, not argue, with them; if you have any difference of opinion, accept that gracefully where there are differences, agree to disagree.
5. Stay honest and don't lie; you cannot deceive the highly experienced panellists.
6. Know yourself, discover yourself and explore yourself; give your own opinions on the question asked. Do not educate the panellists with bookish knowledge.
7. Be proactive. Make a good choice of words. You should also be familiar with the meanings, connotation and correct meanings and usage of those.
8. The highest point in an interview is when you get to educate the panel. If they ask you something that is your forte, don't let the opportunity go. Cling to it unless you're out of words — or breath. It not only creates an impression on the panel that you know "your" stuff, it also gives you a lot of confidence.
9. Hold your ground. Just because they like something, it doesn't mean you need

to turn liquid and go with their views.

10. Master the art of giving to-the-point answers. Keep 20+2 formula (some people use 40+2 formula) which means your answer must not be less than 20 (or 40) seconds and must not exceed two minutes.
11. In case of confusion, you may use words like, in my opinion, I'm not sure, etc.
12. A wrong answer gives a wrong impression but saying no doesn't as no one can be a know-it-all person.
13. Be natural, be yourself.
14. Your journey starts from the first impression and it will end successfully if you carry that along till the end.



SOME

TIPS

for INTERVIEW

Mohammad Murtaza (PAS) Interview Marks: 238/300

The interview is not a test of your knowledge alone; it largely focuses on your personality. Make sure that you are confident, smiling and self-aware. The best part of my interview was when the panel asked me questions on my personality, my subjects and my interests. For example, my favourite book is Nuskha Hai Wafa by Faiz Ahmed Faiz. Coming from an Urdu-speaking family, I was well prepared to answer any questions on that book; however, the panellists asked me if I was aware of any Punjabi poems of Faiz. This could have been a tricky question, but thankfully I recalled one such poem that I had randomly read (titled 'Rabba Sachiya'). The panel was pleasantly surprised to hear my Punjabi recitation and that particular interviewer did not ask me any questions after that. I got 238 marks, even though I had gotten my first five questions wrong, because I stayed calm and in persona.

**M. Awaid Irshad Bhatti — Interview Marks: 232/300**

During the interview, I noticed that the panellists test the stronger candidates by asking questions that might not be their core strength. Hence, it is vital to expand your knowledge base. This can be done by diversifying the subjects you read and have a general idea about the country's issues in various fields. I was asked questions on topics like the Treaty of Versailles, UN bodies, World Wars, Qatar crisis, Constitution, etc.

I was also asked about my degree in Development Economics and the theories therein. This was thus linked to the current affairs and the prevailing international political climate.

Your past achievements and jobs are also a major source of the interview questions. My top position in IB exam was repeatedly mentioned and positively referred to in the interview.

Lastly, knowing about your occupational groups, especially your top preference, is also vital. I was asked various questions about the structure, the issues and my idea of PAS.

Overall, the interview is to judge your confidence, apt and direct responses to current issues, and on-the-spot decision-making. So, stay positive and train yourself not for memorized answers but sharp-mindedness.

**Fazail Mudassar, [PMS (Punjab) 2016-17; Interview Marks: 196/200]**

Mr Fazail broke all previous records of highest marks in PMS Interview by scoring 196 out of 200

1. Introduction is the backbone of the interview. So prepare it well.
2. Be original and don't copy the personality of someone else.
3. Appear in mock interviews to identify your weak areas.
4. Interview is a dialogue not a monologue. So, be expressive.
5. Read one or two good titles before the interview day.
6. Don't leave loose ends in conversation. Be crisp and concise.
7. Be accommodative and respectful to the views of interviewers and do not nullify or deny their opinion or views.
8. Be courteous and keep your tone low, but audible.
9. Be sure and confident, keep your voice firm, don't mumble.
10. Listen to questions patiently and think before answering them in haste.
11. Don't be judgmental; refrain from passing sweeping statements.
12. Dress good and recite Darood Shareef.

**Farangis Azim [PMS (KP) Interview Marks: 200/300]**

There were five members on the panel. Most of the questions asked were from my major subjects of studies. Apart from that, I was asked questions on current affairs, economy and some random questions from the optional subjects. The key to my success in the interview was my confidence, knowledge and well-articulated answers.

**Dr Shahnawaz Mirani [PMS (Sindh) Interview Marks: 146/250]**

I never lost my confidence, calm and composure in the face of this grilling. This is because I had gone through a number of interviews for various commissioned posts and had come out successful in all. To me confidence, positive attitude, presence of mind and one's knowledge in one's degree and optional subjects matter a lot.





Maurice Sunkin opines that defining constitution attracts variants. This way of going about constitution comfortably concedes to academic disagreement and emphatically encourages adaptation to opinion diversification. But it does not help to know what it

entails; for example, it does not tell whether it simply means any set of rules or set of constitutional rules or something else. Given that the world constitutions are split into a variety of classifications pursuant to varying contexts, it is difficult to give a one-size-fits-all understanding of a constitution. However, a starting estimation of it is possible and can be gauged from Geoffrey Marshall's definition who called it a set of legal and non-legal rules of governance, the purpose of which, as UCL Constitution Unit rightly pointed out, is to create, empower and limit state actors. And its defining feature is to evolve with changing times which made Hillarie Barnett call it a living and dynamic organism. Sans this feature, a constitution is entrenched, as is true of the Australian constitution which has approved only eight proposals out of a total of 44; a gap that has weakened its legitimacy. Besides boosting legitimacy, this evolution, inter alia, historical, cultural and political factors, is the impetus for five main divisions of the constitution. Learning these is one of the most effective ways of appreciating a constitution

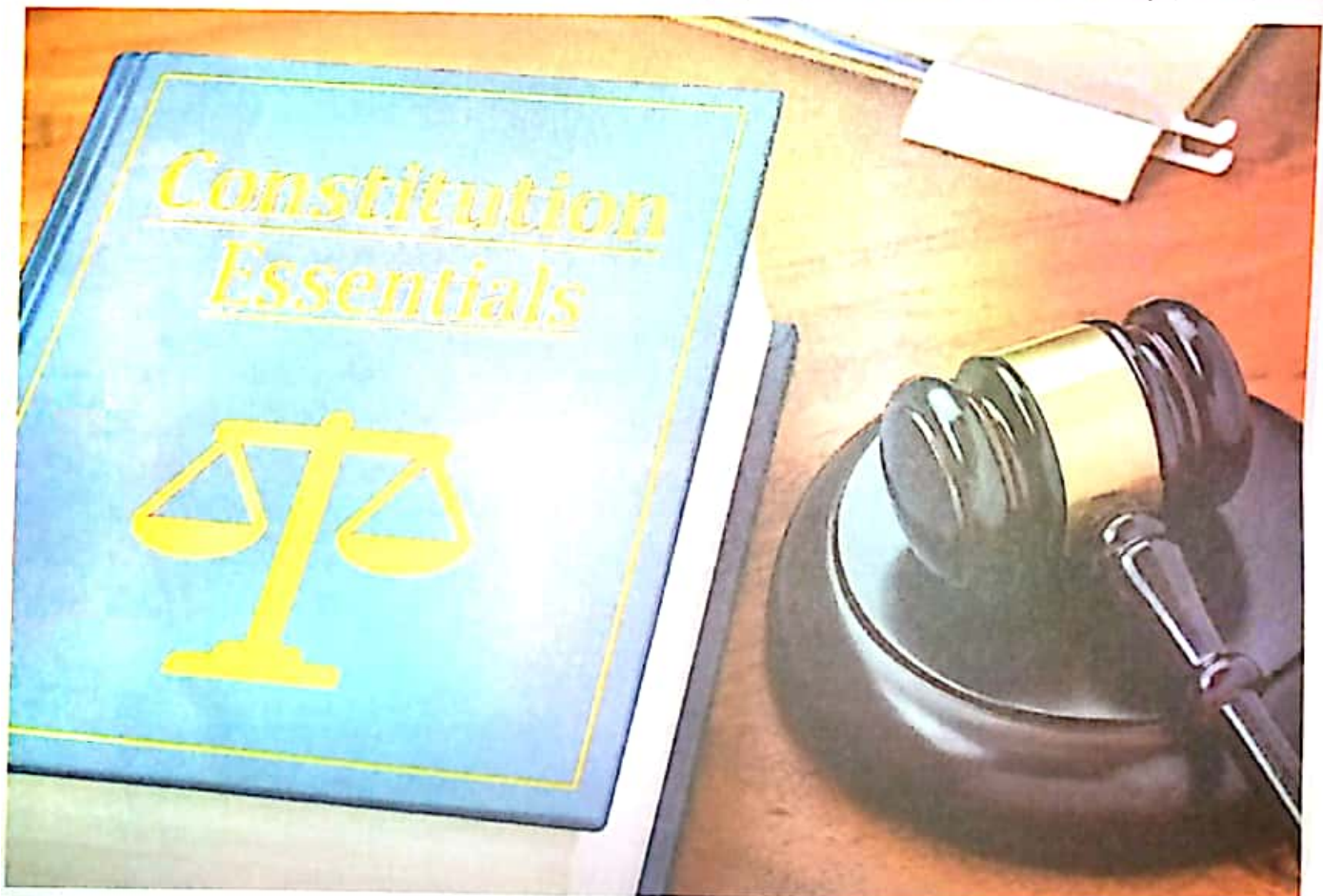
because it gives one lens for its letter and spirit.

The first and the foremost is 'constitution as a text.' This is a type of constitution with rules of governance put together in a single document. Its variant names are Capital C constitution, documented constitution, written constitution, codified constitution and 'The



Constitution'. It is usually the by-product of a revolution. Where it is found, the Supreme Court has the power to strike down legislation incompatible with it. Majority of the countries around the world, including our own, have this sort of constitution.

The Constitution of Pakistan, 1973, was the result of the efforts of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. It has 280 articles and, to date, 26 amendments. Another example is the US



EXAM PACK

constitution which came into force in 1973 and has 7 articles and 27 amendments. Its first three articles clearly set out the structure

of the state. Art. 1 vests the legislative power in Congress: a bicameral legislature with House of Representatives as its lower house and Senate as its upper house. Art. 2 vests the executive power in the President with a four-year term of office. Art. 3 vests the judicial power in the Supreme Court and other lower courts created by the Senate. This justifies Andrew Le Sueur's assertion that 'constitutions typically have sections on the executive, the legislature and the judiciary.' The life cycle of these constitutions has three stages: birth, amendment and death. There are several factors responsible for its birth such as independence from imperial control, a world war, internal strife, splitting up of a country and end of a political regime. Its adaptation is achieved through a procedure set out within the Constitution. For example, for constitutional amendments in Pakistan and the United States, a super-majority is required under Articles 239 and V of these constitutions, respectively. It can come to an end through lawful or unlawful means. An example of the former is the dissolution by referendum of the Fourth Republic of France in 1958. And an example of the latter is the seizure of the Greek government by the military junta in 1967.

The Constitution of The Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Preamble

- Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone, and the authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust;
- And whereas it is the will of the people of Pakistan to establish an order;
- Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people...

The second is 'constitution as a system.' This is a constitution with rules arising from the larger constitutional order. It looks to culture, history, political practice, judicial practice, legislation, morality and socio-economic realities for the development of rules. It is typically known as the small constitution. Looking beyond the US constitution shows that the judicial review of legislation was introduced in 1803 by the US judiciary in *Marbury v Madison*. Similarly, looking beyond Art. 1 of the Constitution of Cyprus manifests that the office of Vice-President is vacant since 1963 because of the political division of the island.

The third is the 'constitution above the nation-state.' This entails two governance arrangements at transnational level: supranationalism and intergovernmentalism. Supranationalism is a governance arrangement under which nation-states agree to delegate limited decision-making responsibility to a forum outside them. An example of this is the European Union, previously known as the European Community. It originated from European Economic Community back in the 1950s. It has twenty-seven member states — after UK's final exit. These states have given competence to the EU in areas such as trade, competition policy and environment. The



Commission, Council and the European Parliament are responsible for making laws in these areas. These institutions are regulated by two treaties namely the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. Intergovernmentalism, on the other hand, is the governance arrangement under which nation-states agree to cooperate with one another in areas of common interest. An example of this is the European Convention on Human Rights. It was created by the Council of Europe in 1947 and has 47 signatory states. It was modelled on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and aimed to consolidate rights and protect them against governmental usurpation.

The fourth is 'constitution below the nation-state.' This entails two governance arrangements at the national level: federalism and unitary. Federalism is where there are two tiers of governance. One is the national government responsible for matters such as defence, foreign affairs and budget. The other is the regional government responsible for delegated matters which may include education, health and social services and administration of justice. USA, Canada, Germany and Australia are its examples. Unitary is where there is one tier of governance — France, Greece, China and Japan are some pertinent examples in this context.

The last is the uncoded constitution. This is where the rules of governance are not found in a single document. Instead, they are derived from various sources. These may be legal or non-legal. At least in the UK, the former comprises statutes, common law, royal prerogatives, international treaties

What is a constitution?

A constitution is a body of basic laws and principles that describes the general organization and operation of the state. A constitution most often contains fundamental principles and norms that underlie and guide all government action. As a supreme or higher law, its provisions provide a framework under which all regulations, legislation, institutions and procedures operate. Additionally, a constitution usually represents a vision of the state, expressing its basic values and national identity. Importantly, it also articulates the rights of citizens that institutions, procedures or legislation must not infringe, and which the state must strive to ensure. Given the fundamental nature of a constitution and its role in laying a groundwork to shape and support the state, a constitution is most often expected to be long-standing and somewhat difficult to change or undo.

and international law. The latter comprises constitutional conventions, constitutional principles such as rule of law, parliamentary supremacy, separation of powers and judicial independence and opinions of jurists such as A.V. Dicey and Ivor Jennings. Its examples are UK, New Zealand and Israel.

The preceding discussion shows that the learning of constitution from its classifications is the most effective way of going about constitutions. It informs that these sets of legal and non-legal rules of governance create, empower and limit national, intra-national and supra-national structures. It emphasises that these rules vary from place to place and culture to culture. By way of example, the way the legislature

was created in the UK is not the same as it was created in the US. The former is the creation of Bill of Rights of 1688 and the latter is the corollary of Art. 1 of the US Constitution of 1789 — although their function remains the same, that is, to create laws. Therefore, although there are many ways to answer the question what is a constitution, the best way to comprehend is to understand its classifications and appreciate the factors that contribute to the creation, empowerment and curtailment of powerful structures. ■

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The next step in the dispossession of a people

Hassaan Bin Zubair

Last year, the Indian government introduced a new set of laws for Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK), including domicile rights for Indian citizens that will alter the demographic status of the Muslim-majority Himalayan region. The new domicile law is a result of a historical, political and policy myopia of India's current dispensation, which has failed to understand the significance of the earlier permanent residency laws for different communities across IIOJK. Besides evoking fear of demographic change, it has raised concerns among Kashmiris regarding the loss of their economic and cultural rights.



There is a famous Machiavellian quote: "Whoever wishes to foresee the future, must consult the past." While changes are being made to erase Kashmir's history, it is important to learn from the history of people's struggle for recognition of their very existential citizenry rights in the region.

In the year 1886, Dogra ruler, Maharaja Gulab Singh, 'bought' the state of Jammu and Kashmir for 75 million Nanak Shahi rupees (the currency of the Sikh kingdom at the time) from the British under the Treaty of Amritsar that was signed on March 16, 1846. The Dogra ruler Hari Singh was a monarch of Jammu and he owned the proprietorship of the valley hereditarily. Once Kashmir was purchased by the Dogra monarch, the proprietorship rights belonged to a Darbar consisting of closed relatives, courtiers and top officials (mostly Kashmiri Pandits). In the year 1947, Jammu was the first region to witness the most horrific episodes of violence during partition, in which thousands of Muslims were slaughtered and others were sent to West Punjab (later to form a part of Pakistan) by mobs and paramilitaries led by the army of then Dogra ruler. As per a report published in The Times, London on Aug. 10, 1948, as many as 2,37,000 Muslims were systematically exterminated unless they escaped to Pakistan. Historians claim that the killings were carried out to change the demography in the region of Jammu as the Maharaja preferred to remain independent of the new dominions of India and Pakistan. This had been disputed by some of the Muslim groups in the Jammu region. At that time, Muslims constituted more than 60% of the population of the occupied valley. An effort to change the demography of the region by Maharaja Hari Singh ignited violence that



UN Resolutions on Occupied Kashmir

"The question of accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite."

13 January 1948

"It is urgent and important to stop acts of violence and hostility in Jammu and Kashmir to decide the question of accession of Kashmir by the democratic method of plebiscite."

27 February 1948

"Steps should be taken for expeditious determination of the Kashmiri future in accordance with freely expressed will of the inhabitants."

23 March 1949

land or property in Jammu & Kashmir" law, which was promulgated by the King of Jammu and Kashmir and subsequently continued through Article 33A of the Indian constitution, denied outsiders the right to own property in Jammu and Kashmir. It also stripped a Kashmiri woman of the right to property if she married a person from

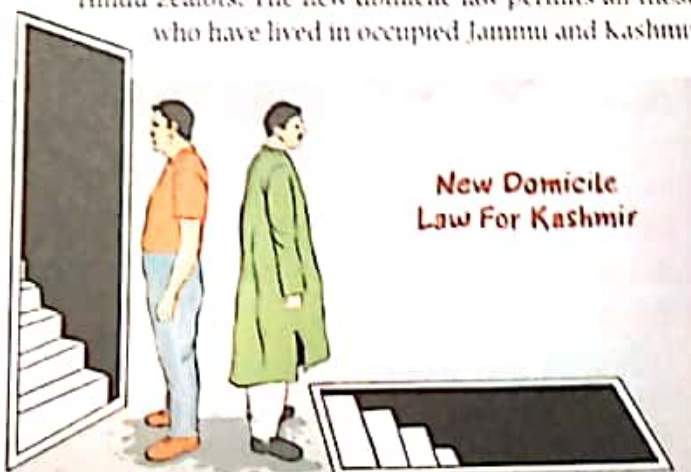
outside the state. This law was brought in to protect the demographic identity of Jammu and Kashmir.

However, as part of scrapping Article 370, India also annulled the long-held hereditary special rights Kashmiris had over the disputed region's land ownership and jobs. Under the new domicile law, authorities have

begun issuing "domicile certificates" to Indians and non-residents, entitling them to residency rights and government jobs. Kashmiris view the move as the beginning of settler colonialism aimed at engineering a demographic change by relocating more Hindus to the region. The law makes it possible for any Indian national, who has lived in the region for at least 15 years or has studied for

seven years and taken certain exams, to become a permanent resident of J&K. A growing number of outsiders are expected to qualify for domicile status in the future.

The new law has become a source of great anxiety for resident Kashmiris who fear that it is geared to bring about a demographic change through settlements of Hindu zealots. The new domicile law permits all those who have lived in occupied Jammu and Kashmir



New Domicile Law For Kashmir

became a perpetual source of conflict in the region. Demographic changes have often pushed regions and their people to the brink.

The new domicile law, which came into force last year, is another project aimed at creating homogeneity in the region, turning its residents - primarily Muslims - into a minority. It will further deepen the conflicts with demographic flooding of people based on scant documentary proof. The taking over of jobs, opportunities and resources from Kashmiris, and quashing their legal rights and privileges after years of people's struggle for justice, rights and recognition in the region, is certain to make things worse.

The new law denies the historical significance of peoples' efforts for rights, recognition and justice, and could end up alienating the Kashmiris further. The process of bringing the new domicile policy was shrouded in secrecy without involving consultations with relevant stakeholders. There is angst among the critics and residents, who have compared the new domicile law with settlements in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. As per a recent report by the Indo-Pak Conflict Monitor, the reading down of Article 370 has emboldened the longstanding conflict in the region and the situation of Kashmir's security has gradually worsened, raising a question mark over the Indian government's non-consultative and hard-line Kashmir policy.

On August 5, 2019, India's Hindu nationalist government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi stripped disputed Kashmir of its semi-autonomous powers. In addition to cleaving Jammu & Kashmir into two federally-controlled territories, and splitting off the thinly populated, Buddhist-dominated region of Ladakh, for the first time, people from outside Kashmir were granted rights to buy land in the valley. Before the Modi administration scrapped Article 370, outsiders were not allowed to buy

EXAM PACK

At the 52nd UNCHR (1996),

Professor William Baker gave testimony that rape in Kashmir was not merely a case of isolated incidents, rather security forces were actively deploying rape on Kashmiri populace as a method of humiliation



for 15 years or studied there for seven years to apply for a domicile. To make it more convenient, the Indian government has also been lenient with those who appeared in class 10th or 12th examinations in Kashmir; they may also avail themselves of this opportunity. To get any government job in the disputed territory, it is mandatory that the applicant have a local domicile. So, with this controversial step, the Indian government is not only planning to permanently settle the outsiders in Kashmir but also allowing them to get government jobs and register businesses there. In this manner, the local people will be deprived of jobs that should only belong to them.

Some 290,000 Indians from elsewhere have already been granted domicile certificates with the help of an online portal. At least 450,000 Kashmiris have lost their jobs. The Indian government is ensuring the process is fast-tracked and has introduced a fine of \$670 (50,000 Indian rupees) to be deducted from the salary of any official in the territory who delays the process.

With these developments, Modi's unbridled government wants Israel settlers' style demographic change in the IIOJK. Work has already begun on altering the Muslim demographics in the region by separating Ladakh from Jammu and Kashmir and, in turn, carving out India's Buddhist majority union territory. Following the abrogation of the special status of Kashmir and the enactment of the new domicile law, India has moved to transmute IIOJK from a bilateral usurpation of a people and their territory against their will.

It has happened at a time when the occupation of Kashmir is not accepted by the international community and there are multiple UN resolutions that forbid India from taking any such action to annex Kashmir or change

its status in any way. Moreover, Article 49 of the 4th Geneva Convention states: "The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own population into the territory it occupies." It further says: "Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportation of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motives."

The same applies to the demographic composition that needs to be preserved to safeguard the interests of the Kashmiri people. Even according to the constitution of India and the universally accepted principle of constitutional propriety, the government of India is both legally and morally bound to desist from using powers under a controversial and impugned Act. The Indian government should immediately stop exercising powers to promulgate domicile law and the rules in question. The people of Kashmir have already been greatly alienated, and the gap between Kashmiris' aspirations and Indian attempts to annex is wide enough to prompt international action in this regard. No disempowering of local people should be allowed anywhere in the world.

We, the Pakistanis, express complete solidarity with the people of IIOJK, and assure our Kashmiri brothers and sisters that the Government and people of Pakistan remain shoulder-to-shoulder with them. Pakistan will not concede in its support until the Kashmiris realize their legitimate right to self-determination in harmony with the United Nations Security Council resolutions. **Q**

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As India celebrates Republic Day, we urge the International Community to play its role in securing a peaceful resolution in Kashmir.

The human rights violations in Indian Occupied Kashmir have to stop immediately with the people of Kashmir given their right of self-determination through a plebiscite they were promised by the International Community many decades ago.

ANDREW GWYNNE MP
Chairman, Labour Friends of Kashmir





Four years ago, on January 20, 2017, Donald T. Trump took the oath of an office, the President of the United States of America, that had the legacy of taking lead in

world affairs and ensuring peace and harmony in the global community. But, soon after his inauguration, President Trump announced to focus on his campaign promise "Make America Great Again". He went on to build a boundary wall with the neighbouring Mexico that attracted huge resistance and criticism from within as well as outside America. Trump also went on blacklisting some nations and banning the entry of their citizens into America which, according to his rationale, posed a grave threat to the homeland security of the United States. These initiatives created a sense of distrust and hostility among other nations while having any engagement with America during a Trump presidency.

In August 2017, President Trump delivered his policy speech regarding Afghanistan and the region. He announced to use mercenaries and locally-recruited sources to cope with the militants in Afghanistan. But it further aggravated the already precarious situation in the Afghan region. Later, he also advocated for the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan — with no stated timeline though — provided the situation in this war-ravaged country

become favourable. He also hindered the negotiations with the Afghan Taliban, and it looked like that he is non-serious in resolving the issue through a negotiated settlement. Nevertheless, his advisors, who proved to be more concerned with the Taliban insurgency, prevailed and made him take serious steps for bringing the Taliban to the negotiating table and appoint an Afghan-born diplomat, Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad, the Special Representative for Afghanistan Reconciliation at the State Department. Amb. Khalilzad visited many countries in a marathon tour to conclude the task, and he, ultimately, stood successful—Trump had though once suspended the process merely on the killing of an American soldier by Taliban.

President Trump also accused Pakistan of harbouring terrorists and, in a very harsh and acrimonious tone, threatened that it will have to face the music for that. This was undoubtedly the manifestation of his lack of political vision and impetuous nature. However, he, later, reverted to accept Pakistan's stance and sacrifices in the war against terror, and sought Pakistan's help in bringing the Taliban to the negotiating table. This was a great diplomatic victory for Pakistan which responded with sincerity by supporting and stimulating the Doha Talks.

President Trump deviated from the legacy of

Donald Trump, the 45th president of the United States of America, has left White House after completing his term as he failed to secure a second term in office because of the defeat handed down to him by Democratic candidate, Joe Biden, who took the oath of office on 20th of January. Owing to Trump's peculiar nature, non-serious attitude, utterly impetuous demeanour, lack of diplomatic skills, no understanding of governance methods, unwarranted challenging behaviour in the international politics and a sheer lack of care for democratic ideals that America is known for, his era will be remembered as one of divisiveness and decline of American influence on the world stage.

Donald Trump
Era and
American
Democratic
Ideals

American ideals on many other fronts also. He withdrew the United States from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), commonly known as the Iran Nuclear Deal, which was signed between P5+1 and the Islamic Republic of Iran in 2015. Moreover, he withdrew from the Paris Climate Accord and thus impeded, to a considerable extent, the efforts for preserving the "Mother Earth". Both these steps were criticized by the Americans themselves. The opposition in this regard can be sensed from the fact that during his election campaign the Democratic candidate—now the 46th US President—Joe Biden vowed to rejoin the JCPOA and Paris Agreement.

During Trump's presidency, domestic politics, too, saw unprecedented protests against the brutal killing of an unarmed and innocent Black American, George Floyd, thus igniting worldwide "Black Lives Matter" protests. Public anger at Floyd's killing was so widespread that the security forces refused to take action against the protestors.

President Trump also faced the charges of illegal links with Russia during his election campaign and was impeached in Congress. Thanks to a Republican majority in the Senate that saved him from removal from office.

In international relations, the most important aspect of Trump's tenure has been US relations with China. Most American analysts and thinkers blame Donald Trump for mishandling China—a rising economic



giant that has challenged the American hegemony through its OBOR and BRI projects. Moreover, Trump

hastily stood with Taiwan in an undiplomatic overture, and also supported the Philippines in its issue of territoriality with China in the South China Sea. China withstood American pressure and retained control of the islands involved in the issue. It was an international embarrassment for Trump.

However, Trump's Middle East policy did reap some benefits for him in the shape of Israel's recognition by UAE and Bahrain. His relations with Russia, the European Union and countries in other parts of the world failed to attract any memorable achievements, except reinvigorating the Quad alliance that comprises Australia, India, Japan and the United States to encircle and contain China in the Indo-Pacific region. Due to internal issues and coronavirus

pandemic, he couldn't find any chance for interfering abroad in the name of human rights.

Moreover, the international crisis that arose in the wake of Covid-19 pandemic was a test of the preparedness of all nations of the world. The United States, too, was no exception. Nevertheless, being a hegemon and sole global power, it was supposed to take lead in controlling the virus, but it was unable to secure even its own citizens from the deadly virus. On many occasions, he resorted to blaming China for spreading the virus; thus he opted for a blame game instead of paving the way for playing his role as a true leader during a crisis. China owing to its effective strategy and precautionary measures controlled the virus but Trump's America is still reeling under its deleterious impacts as he failed to come up with a pragmatic strategy to cope with Covid-19. The pandemic-caused internal crisis resulted in huge layoffs, giving an unprecedented rise to unemployment rates in the USA. Economic activities



were halted, thus giving rise to internal chaos, anarchy and robberies of shopping malls in many cities.

In the 2020 presidential election, his main rival, Joe Biden, defeated him, negating him a second term in office. This defeat was

another test of his political acumen which he failed badly. In the very beginning, he refused to accept the results and incited his supporters to resist the results. It was for the first time in American history that the voters turned violent and stormed Capitol Hill, the

building of American Congress. Being the stimulus behind this attack, President Trump once again faced impeachment for an unprecedented second time. In the House of Representatives, 10 members of even his own Republican party voted against him, and it proves that the way he had opted for was against the established American democratic ideals, norms and values.

To sum up, it's very difficult to compare his tenure with any other American president in terms of leadership, political competence and being a flag-bearer of American ideals and democratic norms. History will remember him as a man of mercurial behaviour, mysterious nature, impetuous utterances, unhealthy approach towards international engagements, lack of respect for human rights and, last but not least, frequently violating democratic norms and values on the national and international stage. ■

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EXAM PACK

International Relations is becoming increasingly relevant as the world grows more and more interconnected through trade and commerce, migration, the Internet and social media, as well as through concerns about pressing global environmental problems. As a field of study, International Relations addresses intercultural relations, national and ethnic identities, environment, international security, diplomacy, more. Studying International Relations can help to understand the way the world works, and how nations and large international organisations operate.

Understanding the International System

A realist perspective



To understand international relations and its various dynamics, it is important to have a proper understanding of the structure and system

Mustansar Hussain Tasir
in international relations for any state. So to remain weaker is the 'original sin'. Realists, keeping in view the structure, are pessimistic in their opinion about the possibility of a lasting peace among the states.

The United Nations was founded in the post-World War II era to avoid any other such human catastrophe in the future. Realistically, this world body was established on the idea that it will function as a world government and will perform as a regulatory authority above states so that any clash of interest among them may not lead to war.

However, firstly, it was not a practical idea in a world comprising sovereign nation-states because no state would be willing to surrender its power and interests to any other

power or organization. Secondly, the idealism of establishing justice through the UN was even flouted when five great powers - China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States - were given the veto power in UN Security Council. Further, countless flaws in the UN's structure make it just a rubber stamp in the hands of big powers, rendering it impotent to resolve the gigantic issues—from Kashmir to Palestine and so on. The UN has repeatedly proved itself a pawn in the hands of its largest donor, the incumbent superpower, the United States. Practically, these powerful countries have no obligations to the UN, howsoever flagrant violators of the UN Charter they might be. So, the realists posit that there is, literally, no real central authority is present on the world stage.

The absence of a higher authority to enforce laws or to regulate relations between and among nation-states means no limit to hostilities. "Troops are abruptly mobilized without apparent warning and - it seems - appropriate justification. Two old foes are suddenly toasting each other in an ancient, decorated conference hall. Rifts, crises and confrontations seem to erupt

in which this whole process of interaction among states and entities takes place. Without discerning the nature of the international system, it is impossible to have a clear, holistic view of world affairs.

So, the students of IR and Strategic Studies must have a clear perspective on the nature of the international system so that they could provide an informed and objective analysis on international issues.

The Realist school of thought gives a unique primacy to the international system and international order among the factors defining the nature, characteristics and various dynamics of global politics. Historically, it was the Westphalian sovereignty that practically ruled out any possibility for the states to be governed by any centrally potent authority, the orders of which must be taken by states as obligatory.

Although it has now become more systematic anarchy, this nature of the international system is not necessarily a by-product of Peace of Westphalia, 1648. Neorealists count the anarchic structure of the international system as the basis of why the nations act and react the way they do in the international arena. This anarchy has left the states with no other option but to accumulate maximum power and to remain sceptic of the intentions of all; friends and foes alike.

The implications of the prevailing anarchic international system for peace, security and stability of the world are grave. Accumulation of power, realists believe, is the only way to ensure a state's survival as well as to gain some 'worth' for it among the comity of nations. In this structure, no weaker nation is obliged for anything. As there is no morality, no compassion, no legal consider-

suddenly." It's actually a zero-sum game, all versus all. Alliances are temporary, friendships are uncertain, and convergences are time-bound. The only permanent in this system is a state's own self; its cherished interests. Anarchy, however, does not necessarily mean chaos or use of uncurbed violence. There are some ways, per the realists, to have a 'controlled anarchy' and to achieve a kind of order and stability in which unrestricted or widespread violence may be avoided. For this, states constitute alliances; formulate regimes for attaining a balance of power. So, despite the absence of any law-enforcing authority in the international arena, a balance of power between rival powers or rival poles can deter them from unleashing misadventures. Then, another way to achieve international stability is through 'hegemonic stability.' Understandably, the Hegemonic Stability theory is not averse to the core of realist tradition. In the words of Joshua S. Goldstein, hegemonic stability is "when a hegemon exercises leadership, either through diplomacy, coercion or persuasion; it is actually deploying its 'preponderance of power'. It means a state's power or capacity to "single-handedly dominate the rules and arrangements of international political and economic relations." Both the concepts - balance of power and hegemonic stability - can be better understood through the system of polarity, which, according to experts, is about the number of great powers leading or dominating the global stage. It is the presence of poles or groups of states with distribution of powers on the world stage that depicts where material power is concentrated in the world.

Realists claim that in various historical eras, the nature of polarity mostly drove international system and there is a close, discernable link between the nature of polarity and the world's stability or instability, war or peace. Polarity identifies the number of actors in the international system as the most important variable in determining the character and direction of global politics. Neorealists assert that the lesser the poles on the world stage, the more stable and peaceful the world. The more the power is distributed, the more clashes of interests and thus more chances of violent confrontations.

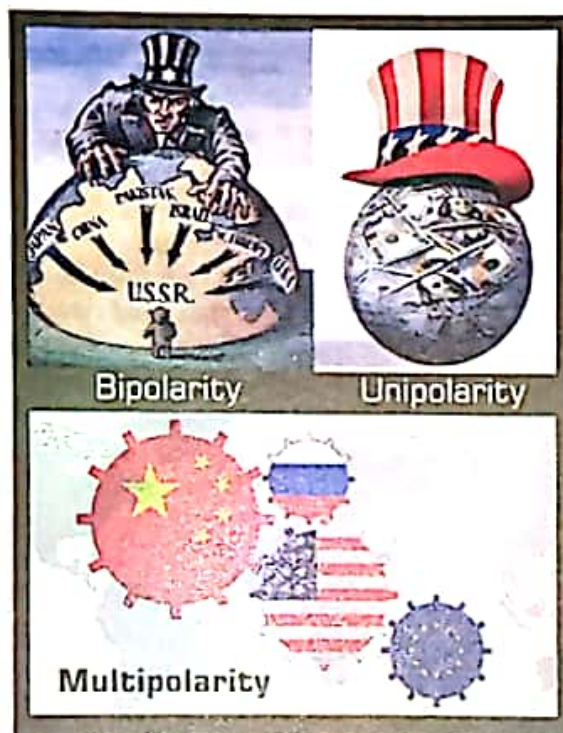
There are three types of polarity: multipolarity; bipolarity; and unipolarity; It is necessary to understand these to fully discern the international system. Multipolar system means the distribution of power among

more than two nations or coalitions. In such a system, the power is concentrated in more than two centres. These alliances may be formed for specific purpose and could be time-bound until the cherished collective objective is achieved or becomes irrelevant. The classic example of a multipolar world was the nineteenth-century Europe. Similarly, the world today is also considered multipolar as the power is concentrated in more than two centres.

Bipolar is characterized by two dominant and roughly equally powerful "superpowers" or blocs at the world stage. The Cold War era in which the US and Soviet Union represented two opposite blocs is a typical example of a bipolar world. Though the Soviet Union's pole was far weaker than the Western one, in discourse that era is labelled as bipolar. Balance of power works best in such a situation as this balance deters the opponent and

minimizes incentives for either side to initiate war. That is one of the reasons why the US and Soviet Union never confronted each other during that period despite having a number of serious irritants.

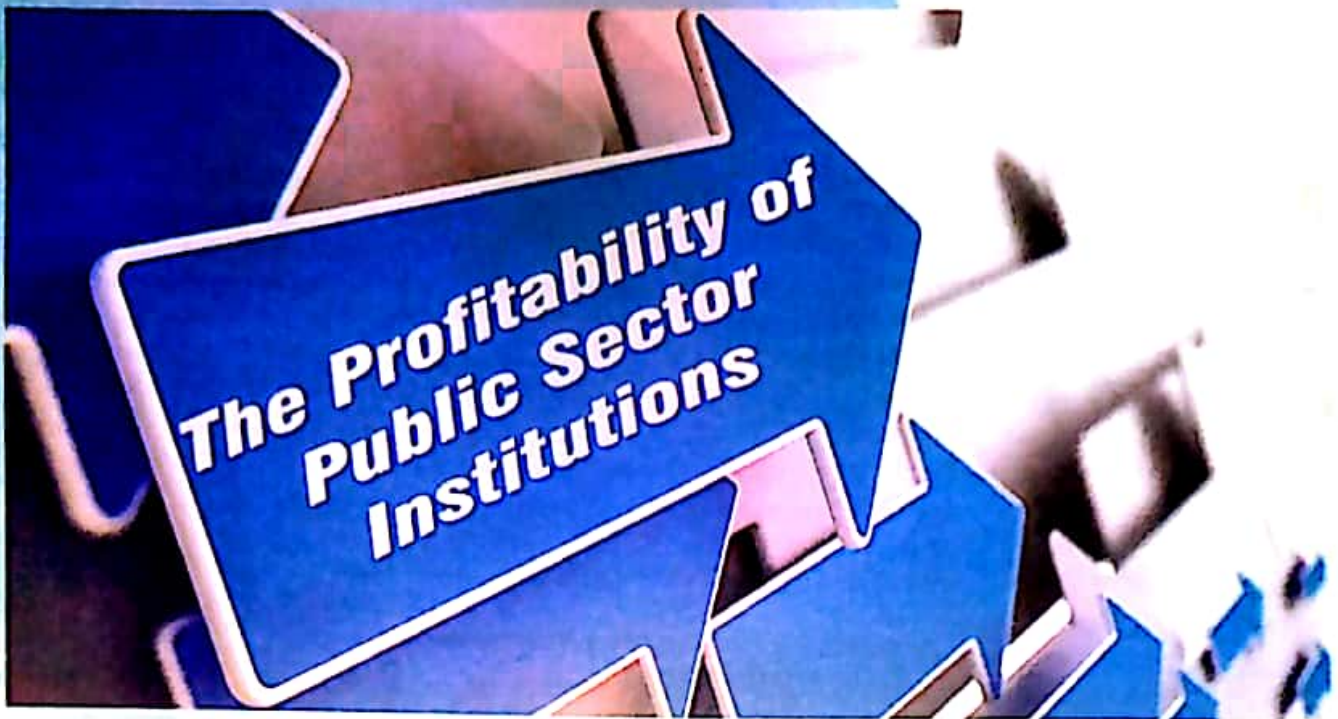
Unipolarity represents a single superpower dominating world affairs. Initial years of post-Cold War era, when China had not yet emerged as a potent power, are considered a US-led unipolar world order. In a unipolar world, according to hegemonic stability theory, world may be more stable as there are no opposing poles and the world is led by a single power that can keep the nations and their interactions under its check. But it depends purely on the hegemon how justly it deals with the various contesting forces on their



contending issues.

According to realists, the world is anarchic and nations must act best according to their national interests. Accumulation of maximum power is mandatory for states to sustain in this "lawless" international system. World affairs run smoothly and peacefully when there is a balance of power among various opposing poles or it is dominated by a single hegemonic force that plays the role of a just superpower. A single superpower, as per realism, can work as a world authority if it is a just hegemon and also possesses such a level of powers that it can gain control over the rest of the world. ■

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An indicator of performance?

One flawed perception that has emerged in recent times is the idea of making every government institution profitable. In fact, government institutions are supposed to function in an environment where profit is not among their main priorities. These institutions are supposed to fill the void left by the private businesses that shy away from venturing into a domain owing to low profits. They are established when the function of an institution cannot be privatized or where the objective is to safeguard the public against the monopoly of private institutions. If everything is weighed in terms of profit and loss, can the defence forces be run in profit? If profitability is the standard of the existence of an institution, the defence should be abolished first as it usually eats up the largest chunk of a nation's budget. But everyone acknowledges that there should be defence institutions and they should not be profit-making.

Dr Atiq-ur-Rehman

Some institutions are needed for essential services that cannot be privatized. These include defence, police and justice institutions. Similarly, in smaller towns, airports cannot run on profit but in order to pursue national interests, governments still run those.

Secondly, institutions like those in education and health sectors can be run successfully in the private sector, but the presence of government is essential to reduce social inequality and to protect the weaker segments of the society. Numerous schools and hospitals are running successfully in the private sector, but these are not easily accessible to those living in poverty. Government schools are needed to help the marginalized people and bring them closer to their richer counterparts. Therefore, the performance of such institutions and hospitals cannot be weighed in terms of profit and loss.

In third place are less profitable institutions where private investors cannot invest, but these are essential for achieving national goals. These include projects like

Metro Train, which will fail in profitability accounting. If metro projects are weighed in terms of profitability, a profitable metro in Pakistan cannot exist. In 2016 when the Lahore Orange Line Metro Train project was planned, I wrote an article showing that all passengers can be given private cars at the cost of the project. By giving interest-free loans, it is possible to recover the entire cost of cars in a few years. But later I realized that

such projects actually serve some other national interest. No doubt, it is possible to buy 50,000 cars at the cost of the metro; the option to buy cars seems more appropriate. But let's imagine the pollution of Lahore — it recently achieved the ignoble feat of being the world's most polluted city — and if suddenly 50,000 more cars are added to the already overburdened traffic system of Lahore, how much will the pollution

increase? On the contrary, to what extent can pollution be controlled if only trains run in the city? Imagine how much petrol and foreign exchange is needed to run these cars? If we take into consideration environmental and foreign exchange aspects, the project would not sound so awkward. But no private party can invest in such a



huge project due to higher costs and low profitability. Hence, the government should invest in such projects to avoid pollution, rush and all such vices.

In fourth place, there are some businesses where a governmental intervention is necessary to protect the public from unjustified profiteering. When the oil companies hoarded petrol a few months back, it was only the Pakistan State Oil that kept running the life in the country. Stronger the PSO, the more effective it can be against the cartelization of private businesses. Therefore, the intervention of the government here is necessary to protect consumers. Utility Stores also fall into this category which is needed to control profiteering of private companies. But if the performance of these companies is measured in terms of profitability, they will prefer to be part of a monopoly group.

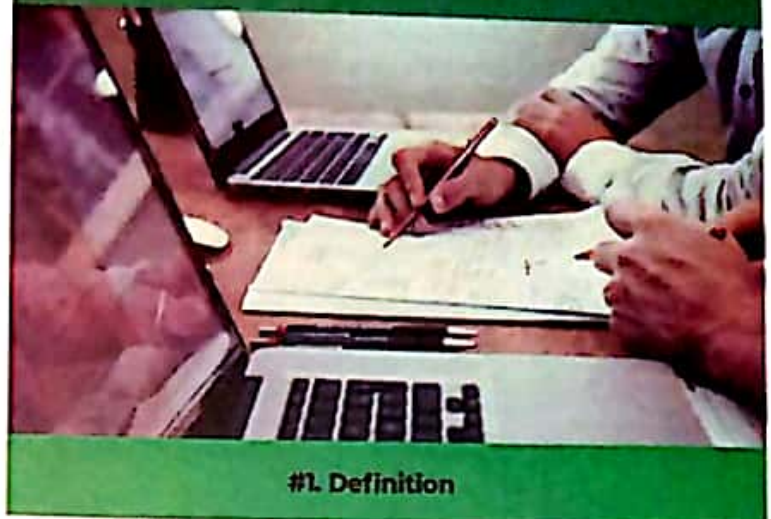
Fifth, some institutions are meant to provide basic services that demand huge costs. Such projects include electricity and natural gas supplies and can either be started by the government, or by a few wealthy businesses. If these functions are privatized or run like private institutions, there will be widening inequality and diversion from various national goals. For example, the first 50 units of electricity are currently subsidized, benefitting millions of poor households. If the electricity supply is handed over to private entities, the opposite will happen, and larger buyers will receive a discount. Profits are possible in such institutions, but profit should not be the touchstone to judge their performance. When governments try to make these institutions a major source of revenue, it harms the public interest.

Lastly, there are institutions that don't fall in any of the above-mentioned categories, such as tourism. Instead of entry into such businesses, the government should facilitate people to invest in this sector. If the government gets involved in such business, due to its unmatched resources, it can harm the interests of private business. The government's role in such a business should be kept to an extent that is necessary to facilitate government affairs.

In short, if profitability is set as a criterion for the performance of a government institution, it will lead to numerous problems. For example, nowadays public universities are being pushed to manage their own budget. When universities are concerned about their budgets, they will, obviously, raise fees, making higher education inaccessible for the poor. In search of more 'customers', educational standards will surely decline. The business of government is to facilitate the public to do businesses and to earn taxes from these businesses. The government intervention in business is appropriate only where their absence could harm the public interest.

The author is Director, Kashmir Institute of Economics, University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir

Public Sector vs Private Sector



#1. Definition

Public Sector



Public Sector refers to the part of the Country's overall economy which is controlled by Government or various Government bodies.

Private Sector



Private Sector refers to the part of the Country's overall economy which is controlled by Individuals or Private Companies.

#2. Ownership

Public Sector



Public sector companies are owned and managed by Government/ Ministries/State Govt./Govt. Bodies.

Private Sector



Private sector companies are owned and managed by Private Individuals and Private Companies.

#3. Primary Purpose

Public Sector



Generally Public Sector entities are driven by the purpose of providing the basic public services to common public at reasonable cost in their respective industries by being also self-sustainable and profitable. However, profitability is not the primary motive.

Private Sector



The purpose of Companies in Private Sector is profit making by operating within the rules and compliances of respective country.

#4. Industry Focus

Public Sector



Public sector companies mostly operate in industries such as Water, Electricity, Education, Oil & Gas, Mining, Defence, Banking, Insurance and Agriculture etc.

Private Sector



Private Sector companies generally operates in multiple industry such as Technology, Banking, Financial services, Manufacturing, Pharmaceuticals, Real Estate, Constructions etc.

PSEs and Job Creation

The law of diminishing marginal returns, which forms part of the fundamentals of economics, states that if one factor of production is constantly increased while keeping others constant, it will soon result in a smaller increase in output or returns. A stage may even arise, which usually does, when the production, instead of going up, starts shrinking. For example, there is a maximum amount of wheat that can be grown in a particular tract of land regardless of the number of farmers who plough the land from dawn to dusk. Once the maximum level of output is reached, it's only by be produced. The same goes for manufacturing. Hiring additional workers introducing more workforce without giving them more capital to work with, make the entire production process inefficient. This is what has happened where more employee inductions relative to the level of output made them Thus, once profit-making enterprises were reduced to loss-making ones The PTI government blames its predecessors for overstaffing the PSEs creation one of the prime functions of the government? In view of the enormous personal and social costs of unemployment, the largest employer all over the world, including Pakistan, government



bringing another parcel of land under cultivation that more wheat can will add to the output of a factory. But if the management only keeps every additional worker will be less productive, which eventually will in the case of Pakistan's PSEs including PIA and Pakistan Steel Mills, more inefficient, less productive and, by implication, costlier to run, and earned the sobriquet "The White Elephants." and, thus, making them inefficient and bankrupt. But isn't employment

answer to the question is in the affirmative. The public sector being the departments take the lead in job-creation. Politically as well, job-creation is one of the criteria by which the performance of a party in power is judged. It is, therefore, hard to question the employment-creation role of the government.

But, those who look at the public sector as essentially an employment bureau are holding the wrong end of the stick. In order to create jobs in the PSEs, they should first be made profitable, for it doesn't make economic sense – though it may make a lot of political sense – to induct people into loss-making organisations. This will entail the enterprises' restructuring, which will shed jobs at least in the short run – a major reason every government shies away from shaking up these enterprises. Unemployment can't be eradicated just by inducting the entire jobless labour force into the public sector. If that were the case, no country would have a single unemployed person. To overcome unemployment, economic expansion, particularly that of the labour-intensive manufacturing sector, must outpace workforce growth; otherwise, the number of unemployed will continue to go up at a gallop. [1]

#5. Financial Support from Government

Public Sector



Companies in Public Sector gets all possible financial support for Government even in adverse circumstances wherein financial health of the companies are not good.

Private Sector



Very little or no financial support from Government unless a private entity is too big and systemically important for the Country.

#6. Listing in Stock Markets

Public Sector



Entities in Public Sectors are publicly traded on exchanges.

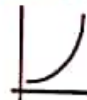
Private Sector



Entities in Private Sectors are publicly traded on exchanges.

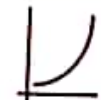
#9. Ease of Doing Business

Public Sector



Public Sector companies find it relatively easy to operate in a country because of its proximity with the Government.

Private Sector



Private Sector companies find it relatively difficult to operate and manage the regulatory issues and compliance in a country in comparison to Public Sector companies.

#7. Profitability

Public Sector



Companies in Public Sector are relatively less profitable because of their primary purpose of not being profitability driven.

Private Sector



Companies in Private Sector are relatively more profitable than their public sector counterparts in same industry.

#10. Resource Mobilisation (Funding)

Public Sector



Better placed to raise funds from the market because of backup by Government irrespective of company's financial health.

Private Sector



Depends upon the financial strength of the private sector entity. Stronger the financials, better capacity to mobilise fund from the market.

#8. Government Interference

Depreciation



Since Public Sector companies are owned by Government, therefore they are subject to the uncertainties related to unfavourable Government decisions and larger Government interference.

Amortization



Private Sector entities are relatively less exposed to Government interference.

#11. Work Culture for Employees

Public Sector



Relatively relaxed work culture with higher job security. However, pay and perks may not be that attractive in comparison to private sector companies.

Private Sector



Competitive work culture with performance based career growth and better pay in comparison to public sector companies.

Corruption and democracy are directly linked with each other, in a way that one's existence causes death of the other. Democracy, which reflects the will of the people, cannot compromise on corruption which is against the will of the people. "For Aristotle, democracy was a vicious form of government, in which many used their power for their own, rather than for the general good," writes Ellie Kedouri in his essay titled as 'Democracy and the Third World: Governance for Developing Countries'. Democracy thrives on the rule of law which is a seal on the establishment of a 'just' society. While a democratic system gives birth to organized social order, economic development and protection of human rights, corruption brings destruction and devastation to all that. Democracy is a form of government that serves people's interests and strengthens the society as a whole whereas corruption is "abuse of entrusted power for some personal mileage" which has widespread repercussions on the people living in a society, encapsulating that corruption is the last nail in the coffin of democracy.

Corruption or Democracy

No Other Way Out

Afaque Ahmed



Democracy today is an internationally accepted political system that provides denizens with the right to "freedom of choice" to select from amongst them a governing body that they think can deliver economic growth, ensure peace and prosperity, protect people's fundamental rights and work towards the evolution and development of the nation. It is the significance of democracy that the governing body is elected from amongst the people to maintain law and order situation, to ensure the provision of employment, education and healthcare facilities and to work in the best interest of the nation on the domestic as well as international front. And, it is through democracy that those at the helm can be held accountable for what they do, which is a key to a progressive, welfare state.

Democracies that indulge in corruption are the ones losing the essence of democratic principles. Rule of law, which corrupt societies do not follow, is a fundamental principle of democracy, implying that none of the people is above the law and whosoever will be involved in corruption will have to face the music. But undemocratic societies where the rule of law plays a second fiddle to the corrupt elite and where the judiciary works at their beck and call, do not deliver upon their sole responsibility that is to ensure that nobody is above the law. Corruption affords corrupt man an opportunity to escape law, thereby making the maxim

that money can buy everything seem true.

Democracy protects the supremacy of civilians and their fundamental rights, particularly their choice of the governing body. However, interference in politics, engineering of elections and stealing of secret ballots, in order to select a governing body, which is in contradiction to the choice made by the masses, and let it function on their whims and wishes imply that democracy is corrupt, ergo compromised. Will of the masses is subjugated to the will of a few, and voice of the general folk for the provision of justice in the wake of the violation of the constitution, and sorrowfully, the will of the majority is incarcerated into the clutches of silence in an undemocratic and corrupt society.

In a democracy, institutions are independent; delivering upon duties they are conferred with, with no influence of external elements. Democracy demands partial and independent working of institutions, regardless of the stature of people, referral and recommendation of the elite which seek to corrupt the system. However, in an undemocratic system, institutional crisis worsens, as officials are not allowed to work in a way they should be. From judiciary to bureaucracy, all institutions are subjected to corrupt practices by highly-influential and external brigade therein. It is a matter of utmost distress that where work is being done, it is influenced by money and referral, leading to institutional paralysis and non-

accountability of the spending of the budget. Then, how can justice, in true form, be provided to the masses there? Corruption, which has become a torment to the masses, is indeed a crime which democracy cannot allow under any circumstances.

The democratic system of government calls for the uplift of human beings, especially those who are vulnerable and resourceless. It ensures the safety and security of citizens, and the provision of peace and justice in the society. Its principles promote equality, fraternity and justice. It seeks to provide for quality education and quality health-care system. Corruption, on the other hand, is a mixture of menaces that seek to inflict on citizens torture, injustice and cruelty in the form of rising poverty, soaring inflation, low-quality education and devastating health-care system, ineffective policing. The matter of consternation is that the rich come out unscathed from the corruption-inflicted wreckage whereas it is the powerless middle class that suffers most.

In societies where democracy prevails, there is accountability mechanism for everyone, especially those in power. Accountability wields staggering importance in a democratic system, implying that everybody is responsible for their actions and can be held accountable following the violation of their duties. Lack of accountability, and leniency, in its process, motivates corruption which, in turn, is an unequivocally serious threat to democracy. In a corrupt society where accountability is hardly found, corruption done by those from low-grade peon in an institution to a high-profile politician in a government demonstrates how that society takes its people on the road to destruction and works at the expense of social justice and equality principle.

Corruption is the manifestation of a faulty society where democratic principles are undervalued. Under corruption, society deteriorates into a dog-eat-dog form where greed shapes people's behaviour and leads to their exploitation of the folks living under humble circumstances. Corruption is an opportunity for the powerful to wreck the powerless, the strong to subdue the weak and the rich to exploit the poor in a way characterized by hopelessness and helplessness. Everything can be sold out to those who afford it, by corrupting the officials, at the expense of the state's resources which guarantees prosperity of the rich and the poor alike. It is what can never be allowed by a vibrant and healthy democracy.

In order to thwart corrupt practices and challenge the corrupt culture, democracy has to become strong, vibrant and healthy. Although corrupt elements who have based their development on corruption could never want

democracy to work at full strength, because its strength robs them of their ability to hoard money illegally, yet progress and prosperity of the nation necessitates the proper functioning of democracy. Democracy is in full function when people living in it are educated and aware enough to challenge the corrupt mafia; quality education produces quality people who shall, on the first instance, choose people competent in work and honest in dealing among them to form a government, and then enhance the mechanism of accountability of whosoever is involved in this malicious practice, on the larger scale. Educated democracy can never allow its people to die of hunger, owing to a few gulping its resources without any remorse for the poor population. Educated persons understand the provisions of law and how its violation takes place, therefore find themselves able enough to question it and raise voice against the powerful corrupt elements.

Another important factor that shall elevate the quality of democracy to the extent of no corruption is the conduct of transparent elections. It is seen on a frequent basis that engineering of elections takes place to select a government against the will of the majority, in a weak and compromised democracy. Those who succeed in forming a government by orchestrating the ballot papers with the appliance of nefarious designs could not prevent themselves from doing corruption and those who help them win the election must have a plan to plunder the nation under the civilian government as a disguise. In order for a democracy to flourish, it must conduct elections under transparency and impartiality. Indeed, only a transparent election can pave the way for a corruption-free democracy.

Corruption is like a deadly disease raging across a body, effecting dysfunction of its every part; the society, state, institution or wheresoever corruption exists, it is highly

likely that it will destroy its essence. Corruption distorts the functioning of institutions, turning them into money-making machines, creates disturbance in the partial distribution of funds in an organisation, plays havoc on the existing principles of a government system, takes a heavy toll on the constitutional laws and plunges the populace into enduring suffering. There is nothing more deleterious than the scourge of corruption for societies that believe in

the development of human welfare and the establishment of the justice system. The quicker the corruption is done away with, the more the promotion of quality education and production of progressive and competent people—and by bringing transparency into elections—the higher are chances for democracy to work in full bloom. ■

The writer is a student




























**CORRUPTION IS
NATURE'S WAY OF
RESTORING OUR FAITH
IN DEMOCRACY.**

Peter Ustinov

The Henley Passport Index released the latest ranking of the world's powerful passports in 2021 amid the new wave of coronavirus pandemic when many countries are planning to impose lockdown and travel restrictions again. The latest ranking was announced according to the number of destinations their holders can access without a prior visa. It is likely that COVID-19 vaccination will be declared mandatory to the people who are willing to travel to the destinations in many countries.








Japan has once again grabbed 1st position in the global passport index of 2021 as the holders can get visa-free access to 191 destinations around the world. Pakistan's passport has been given 107th position with the visa-free access to 32 destinations.

Here is a look at this year's rankings

Country	Rank	Access
Japan	1 	191
Singapore	2 	190
South Korea	3 	189
Germany	3 	189
Italy	4 	188
Finland	4 	188
Spain	4 	188
Luxembourg	4 	188
Denmark	5 	187
Austria	5 	187
Sweden	6 	186
France	6 	186
Portugal	6 	186
Netherlands	6 	186
Ireland	6 	186
Switzerland	7 	185
United States	7 	185
United Kingdom	7 	185
Norway	7 	185
Belgium	7 	185
New Zealand	7 	185
Greece	8 	184
Malta	8 	184
Czech Republic	8 	184
Australia	8 	184
Canada	9 	183
Hungary	10 	182

Henley Passport Index Global Ranking 2021



South Asian Countries		
Maldives	62 	85
India	85 	58
Bhutan	90 	53
Bangladesh	101 	41
Nepal	104 	38
Pakistan	107 	32
Afghanistan	110 	26

4TH JWT ESSAY COMPETITION

Single National Curriculum is a must for Social Cohesion and National Integration

2nd
POSITION

Outline

1. Introduction

Thesis Statement:

Single National Curriculum is a necessary tool to build integration and social unity in a diverse nation like Pakistan, provided its challenges and apprehensions are addressed adequately.

2. What is Single National Curriculum?

3. Objectives of Single National Curriculum

4. How SNC is a must for Social Cohesion and National Integration?

- i. By ending educational apartheid to integrate the diverse nation
- ii. Creating social cohesion by providing level playing field to all children in the country
- iii. Promotion of meritocracy and fair distribution of talent
- iv. Reducing disparities and marginalization by bringing Madrasah within the ambit of formal schooling
- v. Discouraging relative deprivation by emphasizing entrepreneurship
- vi. Promotion of democratic culture in the society
- vii. To establish cultural and interfaith harmony

Case Study: Why SNC in Pakistan? A case study of Single Maltese Curriculum and New Jersey Minimum Students' Learning

5. Challenges and Apprehensions against SNC in establishing Social Cohesion and National Integration

- i. Challenges in implementation at the provincial and local level
- ii. Apprehensions of political segments in Pakistan
- iii. Concerns of academics

6. Making SNC an effective tool for establishing Social Cohesion and National Integration – way forward

- i. Resolving issues in implementation
- ii. Addressing the apprehensions of various schools of thought

7. Conclusion

Dr Saadullah

S

ingle National Curriculum is a necessary tool to build integration and social unity in a diverse nation like Pakistan, provided its challenges and apprehensions are addressed adequately. Single National Curriculum (SNC) sets certain minimum learning benchmarks. It aims at achieving these academic outcomes irrespective of students' socio-economic

conditions. By ending educational apartheid, SNC focuses on providing level playing field to the students from every nook and corner of the country. SNC integrates the nation by reducing relative deprivation, marginalization and polarization. It creates sense of civic responsibility, tolerance, respecting difference in opinion and promotion of democratic culture. The ultimate objective of SNC is to build an integrated nation, and a just and unified society. However, some challenges and apprehensions exist in the way of SNC. The biggest difficulty is its implementation at the provincial, district and tehsil levels. Academics and politicians raise various questions as well. Therefore, the government needs to resolve the issues and concerns adequately. A policy takes time to achieve its objectives. Same is the case of SNC in building national integration and social cohesion. Shanza Khan and Moeed Yousuf rightly said in their essay 'Education as a Strategic Imperative'.

"The suggested policy measures cannot bring change overnight... progress will likely be slow. But if executed properly, these steps will prepare the ground for visible improvement." Single National Curriculum (SNC) is a document containing set of

IMPLEMENTATION OF SINGLE CURRICULUM:

ONLY 80% OF PEOPLE IN PAKISTAN ARE ABLE TO READ AND UNDERSTAND A SIMPLE STATEMENT. ACCORDING TO STATISTICS OF BEST EDUCATIONAL COUNTRIES OF 2020, PAKISTAN RANKED AT 83RD POSITION AMONG 94 COUNTRIES. NATIONAL CURRICULUM COMMITTEE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED TO ERADICATE EDUCATION DISCRIMINATION, BUT VAST LINGUISTIC, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DISPARITIES ARE MAIN HURDLES IN IMPLEMENTATION OF SINGLE NATIONAL CURRICULUM



learning objectives. It has student learning benchmarks. The standards in the SNC would be achieved irrespective of the nature of institutions. It does not matter whether child goes to a Madressah, a public school or a private school. For instance, every child in grade III needs to know fractions. The institutions may teach the child beyond fractions, but at the third grade, children must know fractions.

Single National Curriculum has been formulated to achieve certain objectives. It aims at alleviating disparities in the society. By ending educational apartheid, SNC provides level playing field to all children in the country. Students in the peripheral areas would achieve same academic targets as those in the metropolitan cities. Schools in Tharparkar, Kashmore, Rajanpur and Dera Murad Jamali would follow the benchmarks of Aitchison College, Beacon Schools and City Schools. This will create a sense of inclusiveness, equality and unity in the society. As a consequence, the diverse nation can be unified and integrated.

By ending educational apartheid, SNC can integrate the diverse nation. At present, three parallel education systems are operating simultaneously. The public and non-elite private schools, the elite schools and Madressah have different curricula and methods of teaching. SNC sets to end this class system in education. It would create a sense of unity and equality in the young minds. In this way, the diverse nation can be integrated.

Single National Curriculum intends to

establish social cohesion by providing level playing field to all children. Its chief objective is to provide equal access to quality education irrespective of students' socio-economic, and geographical position. Madressah children can aspire to become physicist, doctors, engineers and civil-servants. Provision of equal opportunities to all would result in less conflicts. Marginalized and isolated segments of society would find a place in the mainstream socio-political activities, resulting in social cohesion. By promoting meritocracy and fair distribution of talent, SNC can unify the nation for development of Pakistan. Uniform curriculum provides equal opportunities to students across the spectrum of society. Talent is to be distributed in a manner that is fair, equal and just. Everyone can participate in the society based on meritocracy. This would result in the inclusive institutions. Such institutions would unify the nation for prosperity of the country. Productive role of inclusive institutions has been discussed by Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson in their masterpiece work "Why Nations Fail."

"Meritocracy and equality in opportunities play key role in institutional



success."

SNC brings Madressah within the ambit of formal education. At present, there are approximately 35000 religious seminaries with nearly 3 to 4 lac students. Most of the religious institutions do not have access to formal education. SNC aims at bringing Madressah within the ambit of formal schooling. It would reduce disparities, feeling of alienation and

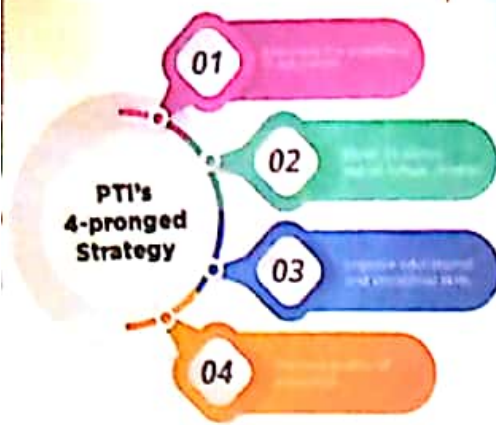


marginalization.

SNC discourages relative deprivation by emphasising entrepreneurship. Main focus of SNC is to create self-employment opportunities. It includes Technical and Vocational Education Training. Previously, no attention was paid to promote TVET. A few vocational institutes and outdated curriculum did not match to fulfil modern technical skills. SNC gives opportunities to students for learning skills. It is in accordance with achieving the Sustainable Development Goal 4. The UN goal advocates the expansion of equitable access to TVET. SNC is a step forward to increase number of youth with relevant skills for decent work. As a result, relative deprivation would be reduced.

SNC is designed to promote democratic culture in Pakistan. For a successful democratic state, curriculum is crucial in establishing democratic culture. The principles of SNC include: enhancing civil responsibilities, respect for difference of opinion and tolerance. This would result in development of democratic norms and values. As a consequence, an environment with democratic culture would flourish in Pakistan. Dr Mariam Chughtai - a member of SNC committee - says:

"We have tried our best to inculcate lesson of tolerance and peoples' rights in society. Our prime aim is to promote democratic values in young minds." Uniform curriculum focuses on creating cultural and inter-faith harmony. The objective of SNC is to educate children about different cultures in Pakistan. Students in one area would learn cultural values of the other areas. Knowledge of various



cultures would create a sense of cultural connectivity. Besides culture, SNC teaches lessons of respecting other religions and sects. It aims to create inter-faith harmony among the inhabitants. The objective is to achieve unity in diversity. Single National Curriculum is used as a tool to achieve social cohesion and national integration in various countries.

Single Maltese Curriculum and New Jersey Minimum Students' Learning are worth to mention. The former was developed in 1999. The Maltese National Curriculum has been termed successful in inculcating cultural values and economic development. Today, it is included in the very high HDI value countries. New Jersey student learning standards match Pakistan's SNC. In the former, learning objectives for different subject areas have been designed. All schools in state of New Jersey are expected to achieve those benchmarks. This shows that curriculum objectives are set and practiced in different areas of the world. In Pakistan, SNC can achieve its objectives of uniting a diverse nation and establishing national integration and removing apprehensions in the country.

As far the challenges are concerned, the issues in implementation of SNC lead the rest. Only a small percentage of budget is allocated to education by the provinces. Shortage of financial resources would cause difficulties in enforcement of SNC at the district levels. Implementation of SNC in Madressah is another major hurdle. Even in the SNC formation stage, some religious seminaries declined to accept SNC. Implementation of SNC

needs teachers' capacity to teach the students. The teachers are not well-trained to achieve educational outcomes in the peripheral areas. But the issue of implementation is not the only concerning point.

Apprehensions of some political segments in Pakistan create problems for SNC. Various political schools of thought term it the constitutional transgression. They are of the view that after the 18th amendment, education is a provincial subject. The federal

government cannot make SNC. It is an endeavour to harm the true spirit of the 18th amendment. Farhatullah Babar - a senator - says:

"SNC looks like a way to roll back the 18th amendment."

Academics have also raised questions over SNC. They consider it a step to divert attention from the fundamental issues of low enrollment, out of school children and poor school infrastructure. Without resolving those basic problems, SNC would increase inequalities, disparities and marginalization. Pervez Hoodbhoy - an eminent academic - shares his views over SNC in a debate organized by the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad:

"By good curriculum you cannot magically wash away the very drastic and dire realities of bad infrastructure and decades of neglect."

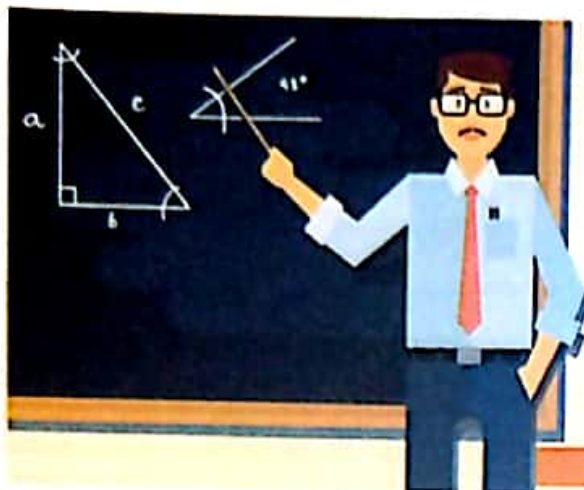
Therefore, the aforementioned challenges need to be resolved. Apprehensions of politicians and academics must be resolved. Debate over SNC in the National and Provincial assemblies can be fruitful. The discussion can further be expanded to the district level. It must include heads of local educational institutions, parents and civil society. The focus of

government should be to emphasize the point that SNC is the first step. It is not the only way to address all educational problems at once. The government must assure the public that it would make other efforts to resolve fundamental issues as well. In this way, apprehensions of politicians, academics and public could be addressed.

Last but not least, the issues of implementation of SNC need to be resolved. The government must make policies to enhance teachers' abilities. For SNC, single teacher training is necessary. Enforcement of SNC in Madressah can be ensured by using micro-level approach. The local government should be empowered to check SNC implementation in religious seminaries at Taluka and Union Council levels. SNC can integrate the diverse nations once its implementation hurdles are removed.

To conclude, SNC is a fundamental tool to establish unity among the diversity. The document has been formulated by more than 400 scholars, academics, provincial representatives, textbook board experts and religious scholars from all over the country. The objective of SNC is to integrate the nation by ending regional and ethnicity based inequalities. It aims at making young minds to think as Pakistani, and not Sindhi, Punjabi, Baloch or Pashtun. SNC is the national narrative. Every Pakistani should play its part by avoiding baseless objection and propaganda. It is time to achieve the goals of the Vision-2030, one nation one curriculum. Mohsin Hamid rightly says in his essay 'Pakistan beyond the crisis state': "A brighter future awaits us. If we, as Pakistani citizens, are willing to pay for it." ■





Ratios & Proportions



Asad Aziz

1. If $\frac{1}{4}$ of the employees in a supermarket are not college graduates, what is the ratio of the number of college graduates to those who are not college graduates?

- (a) 1:3 (b) 3:7
(c) 3:4 (d) 4:3

2. If, $\frac{a}{9} = \frac{10}{2a}$, what is the value of a^2 ?

- (a) 36 (b) 35
(c) 96 (d) 45

3. If 80% of the applicants to a program were rejected, what is the ratio of the number accepted to the number rejected?

- (a) $\frac{1}{4}$ (b) $\frac{1}{2}$
(c) $\frac{1}{3}$ (d) $\frac{3}{2}$

4. Ali can read 50 pages per hour. At this rate, how many pages can he read in 50 minutes?

- (a) 25 (b) $41\frac{2}{3}$
(c) $45\frac{1}{2}$ (d) 48

5. If all members of a team are juniors or seniors, and if the ratio of juniors to seniors on the team is 3:5, what percent of the team members are seniors?

- (a) 37.5% (b) 40%
(c) 60% (d) 62.5%

6. The measures of the three angles in a triangle are in the ratio of 1:1:2. Which of the following statements must be true?

- (a) The triangle is isosceles
(b) The triangle is an acute triangle
(c) The triangle is equilateral
(d) The triangle is Scalene

7. What is the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its

radius?

- (a) 1 (b) $\frac{\pi}{2}$
(c) $\sqrt{\pi}$ (d) 2π

8. The ratio of the number of freshmen to sophomores to juniors to seniors on a college basketball team is 4:7:6:8. What percent of the team are sophomores?

- (a) 16% (b) 24%
(c) 25% (d) 28%

9. At GCU, Lahore the ratio of the number of students taking Arabic to the number taking French is 7:2. If 140 students are taking French, how many are taking Spanish?

- (a) 490 (b) 496
(c) 514 (d) 522

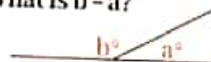
10. If $a:b = 3:5$ and $c = 5:7$, what is the value of $b:c$?

- (a) 3:7 (b) 21:35
(c) 21:25 (d) 25:21

11. If x is a positive number and $\frac{x}{3} = \frac{12}{x}$, then $x =$

- (a) 3 (b) 4
(c) 6 (d) 12

12. In the diagram below, $b:a = 7:2$. What is $b - a$?



- (a) 20 (b) 70
(c) 100 (d) 110

13. A snail can move i inch in m minutes. At this rate, how many feet can it move in h hours?

- (a) $\frac{5hi}{m}$ (b) $\frac{60hi}{m}$
(c) $\frac{hi}{12m}$ (d) $\frac{5m}{hi}$

14. Ayesha can grade t tests in $1x$ hours. At this rate how many tests can she grade in x hours?

- (a) tx (b) $2tx$
(c) $\frac{1}{t}$ (d) $\frac{x}{t}$

15. A club had 3 boys and 5 girls. During a membership drive, the same number of boys and girls joined the club. How many members does the club have now if the ratio of boys to girls is 3:4?

- (a) 12 (b) 14
(c) 16 (d) 21

16. If $\frac{3x-1}{25} = \frac{x+5}{11}$ what is the value of x ?

- (a) 34 (b) 3
(c) 7 (d) 17

17. If 4 boys can shovel a driveway in 2 hours, how many minutes will it take 5 boys to do the job?

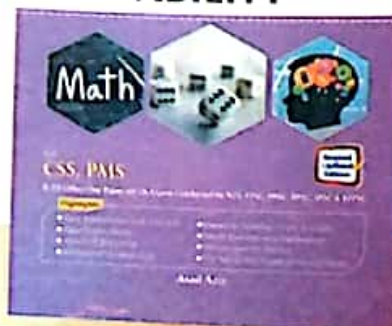
- (a) 60 (b) 72
(c) 96 (d) 120

18. If 500 pounds of meat will feed 20 people in a week, for how many days will 200 pounds of meat feed 14 people?

- (a) 6 (b) 7
(c) 4 (d) 12



GENERAL MATHEMATICS ABILITY



The year 2020 was marked with unprecedented chaos, unthinkable confusion, and unparalleled commotion. It has been called the "year from hell" as the Covid-19 pandemic, which is an unprecedented human and economic crisis, spread across the world and compelled entire continents to experience a lockdown. Although the past twelve months did bring some good news, those bright spots, however, hardly made up for the bad news. While the pandemic will continue to be the highlight of 2020, and rightly so, there are other issues of great import, a residue from the yesteryears that are equally capable of shaping the world in 2021.

Top International Trends in

2021

Muhammad Sheraz



Nations around the world have said goodbye and good riddance to 2020. To say that this year has been a challenging one would be an understatement. The coronavirus has crippled the world economy. Global GDP suffered, in 2020, its sharpest drop since the end of the

Second World War, millions were unemployed or furloughed and governments pumped trillions of dollars into their economies to prevent greater damage. A potent mix of hope and fear accompanied the start of 2021 in most of the world. Scientists have created several vaccines for a disease that didn't even have a name in 2019. But many countries are still stumbling through the deadliest period of the pandemic.

What will the new year bring? Whilst uncertainty is the only certainty, the following are the top trends to watch in 2021:

1. Covid-19 and Vaccine Nationalism

Although the year 2021 has begun, the Covid-19 pandemic remains, along with the global crisis it has created. The novel coronavirus turned the world upside down in 2020. As the year closed, the death toll worldwide had topped 1.7 million, any economic recovery was "likely to be long, uneven and highly uncertain" - with the lockdowns, the global economy has suffered the worst recession in 75 years, causing the loss of income for millions of people. In such a bleak environment - and experts and laypeople alike were wondering whether life

will ever return to a pre-pandemic normal. Neither international institutions, nor corporations or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) became leading forces in the fight against the pandemic. It is from states that citizens expect effective measures of protection and guarantees against economic loss. States are bringing to the fight against the pandemic their characteristic spirit of national selfishness and the struggle for primacy. The trend over the past few years has been towards the return



of nationalism, protectionism and great-power rivalry based on power and geopolitical struggles. The pandemic has only reinforced this trend.

Although two highly effective vaccines have been approved for use, with more on the way, distributing those widely, efficiently and equitably will take many months and pose major challenges. Missteps are almost inevitable. A split could also develop between those countries that are vaccine "haves" and those that are "have-nots." Much is expected of COVAX, the international alliance to produce, manufacture and ship vaccines. Some countries, including the United States and Russia, have refused to join a global initiative aimed at distributing billions of doses by next year, raising fears about vaccine nationalism. Meanwhile, questions remain about how long the immunity offered by contracting Covid or getting vaccinated will last, whether it's possible for someone who has been vaccinated to contract the virus and infect others, and whether the virus will continue to mutate in ways that make it more contagious. As a result, measures such as mask-wearing, social distancing, testing, and contact tracing will continue to play a major role in combatting the spread of Covid-19 throughout 2021 and perhaps beyond.

2. Rebuilding Economies

The coronavirus has crippled the world economy. Global GDP suffered its sharpest drop since the end of the Second World War, millions were unemployed or furloughed, and governments pumped trillions of dollars into their economies to prevent greater damage. Nevertheless, a 2021 recovery is very uncertain. China's economy is growing strongly again, but many of the world's richest nations may not fully rebound until 2022 at the earliest. After moving quickly to contain coronavirus, China has returned to growth already, and a trade deal with the EU in late December is a reminder of how attractive its economy remains to global investors.

The World Bank has downgraded its outlook for the global economy, and has warned that the situation could erode further if Covid-19 infections rise or vaccine rollouts are delayed. After a contraction of 4.3 percent in 2020, the

world economy is projected to grow by 4.0 percent this year, two-tenths lower than previously forecast. Its Global Economic Prospects report warns that the outlook remains "highly uncertain," and GDP growth could be as low as 1.6 percent if the downside risks materialise. So, the rebuilding of economies shattered by Covid-19 everywhere will be slow; even countries that managed to contain it have taken a hit, from Vietnam to New Zealand. The biggest losers of 2021, however, are likely to be developing countries. They lack both the economic resources to acquire enough vaccines and the public health systems to treat large numbers of Covid patients. They also can't afford the huge government subsidies that have prevented mass unemployment in Europe and the US. With demand for their raw materials crippled by the recession in the west, and little aid available from rich countries to alleviate their large debts, they can ill afford further lockdowns.

Even formerly fast-growing countries like Brazil and India are facing hard times. Many millions of poor workers in the informal sector are being forced back to their villages and urban slums to face mass poverty and even starvation.

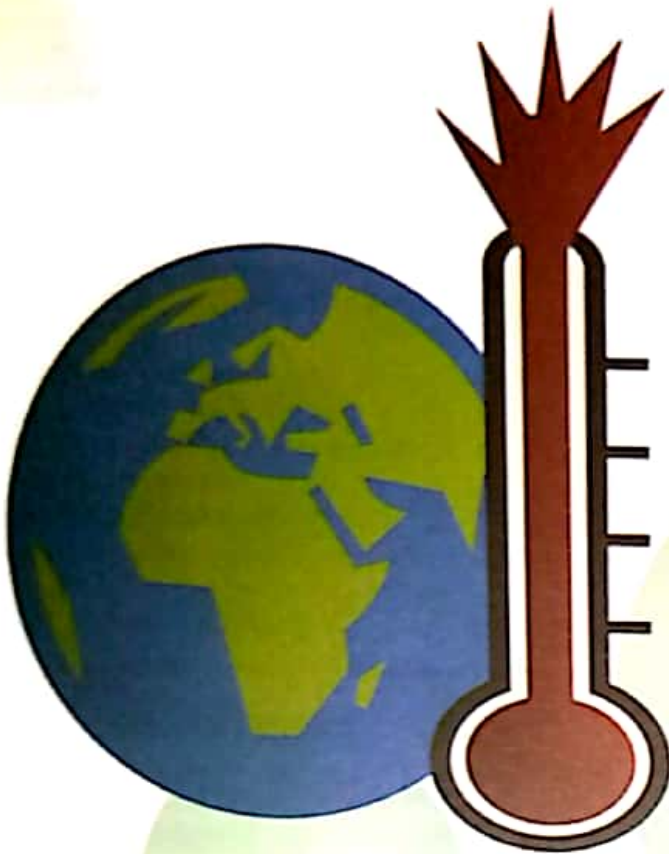
3. Climate Change

Hot and dry conditions drove record-setting wildfires through vast areas of Australia, California (USA), Brazil and Siberia. A record-breaking Atlantic hurricane season landed a double blow of two hugely destructive storms in Central America. Long-running droughts have destroyed agricultural output and helped to push millions into hunger in Zimbabwe and Madagascar. A super-cyclone unleashed massive floods on India and Bangladesh. And overall, 2020 ended up as the hottest year on record—despite a La Niña event, the ocean-atmospheric phenomenon which normally temporarily cools things down.

In November 2021, world leaders are due to meet in Glasgow for a key summit. As it was delayed for a year because of the pandemic, there is mounting pressure for them to agree significant new steps. Paris was important because it was the first time virtually all the nations of the world came together to agree they all needed to help tackle the issue. The problem was the commitments countries made to cutting carbon emissions back then fell way short of the targets set by the conference. In Paris, the world agreed to avoid the worst impacts of climate change by trying to limit global temperature increases to 2°C above pre-industrial levels by the end of the century. The aim was to keep the rise to 1.5°C, if at all possible.

In view of the pledges made by world leaders in recent months and positive news from experts, there is growing hope that 2021 may prove to be a turning point for climate change. Climate scientists and policy experts at the Climate Action Tracker estimate that if countries deliver





on their emission-reduction pledges, the planet could attain 2.1°C global warming and put the goal of limiting average temperature rise to between 2°C and 1.5°C within reach.

The non-zero targets by countries like China and the EU are a breakthrough, and are likely to have other countries vying for bringing about an escalation of net-zero emission commitments and more ambitious decarbonisation plans. The outlook is also likely to improve as a result of technological changes, decreasing renewable energy costs and widespread use of electric vehicles.

4. Transformation of America's Leadership Role

The fourth key trend will be the deterioration of the internal political crisis in the United States. Politically speaking, 2021 began on January 20th with the Biden-Harris inauguration. It will be seen as a time of change, of high hopes for some segments of US society, but also of frustration for the over 74 million who voted for Donald Trump. That Joe Biden is very likely to be a one-term president and that Kamala Harris is likely to be an unusually prominent vice president will make this leadership change look exceptional.

Donald Trump is now a private citizen. But largely because of his divisive and democracy-tainting term, his successor Joe Biden may be tested more than any new US President since the 1930s. The pile of crises that the new commander-in-chief inherits in this new year could dwarf the Great Depression-era threat to capitalism confronting President Franklin Roosevelt in 1933.

America's wretched partisan fury means Biden has only

the narrowest of paths to forging successful policy responses to America's big problems. Creating a meaningful presidency from such unpromising beginnings will take extraordinary political skill, missteps by his political enemies and luck.

Trump's pernicious lie that he won a landslide in an election he actually lost has spread through Republican voters. This is an immediate challenge for the new President's appeals for unity. Republicans did better than expected in the November elections and made gains in the House of Representatives, emboldening them to form a roadblock to Biden's ambitious plans on issues like climate change. Biden will have to convince GOP lawmakers to work with him — but he may be the only person in Washington who thinks Senate GOP Leader Mitch McConnell might actually allow it.

On the foreign policy front, multilateralism is one field where the restoration drive will be most evident. The US State Department and its officials will also require refurbishment if US diplomatic capabilities are to be strengthened. A more structured foreign policy will be implemented that will help increase the predictability lost at a stroke by the outgoing president's tweets. The Iran



nuclear deal (JCPOA), in particular, will be the point of convergence for the new administration's restored multilateralism and greater faith in diplomacy and negotiation.

5. Way of Life: Back to Normal or a New Normal?

Of the changes brought by Covid-19, the fastest were in the ways we work, travel, consume, relate and even conduct international relations. Meetings, interviews, discussions and debates will be held through online video calling applications. Webinars, seminars, workshops, and conferences will be held digitally. While this has limited our interaction with colleagues, it has reduced organisational costs as well. Moreover, such online events can be witnessed by a global audience and do receive traction on digital and social media. Such virtual events will continue to be held as the second wave of Covid19 is gaining strength across the world.

While talking about the new normal, we must keep an eye



on the 'Great Reset'. It is a proposal to restructure the world economy presented by the World Economic Forum (WEF). Interestingly, it was presented in May 2020, almost two to three months after the countries began going into a lockdown. It was proposed by Prince Charles and Klaus Schwab, Director of WEF.

According to the Great Reset, such policies will be implemented that will enhance capitalism through investments targeted towards environmental projects. The proposal gained a backlash as nearly 80,000 people in less than 72 hours signed a petition against implementing such a policy.

Where the Great Reset will take the world in terms of socio-economic, environmental and political progress is yet to be seen. What matters is that the powers that be do not use the pandemic to their unfair advantage.

In the second half of 2021 we will have a sense of whether we are in the process of returning to the pre-pandemic normal in terms of business trips, major trade fairs and sporting events as they were understood pre-Covid-19 or whether we will tend to travel less and organise these activities differently.

6. Turkey's Foreign Policy

The sixth international trend will be Turkey's foreign policy activism. In November 2020, following the results of the war in Nagorno-karabakh, in which Turkey was actively involved, a new status quo was formed in the region, the strategic link between Ankara and Baku was strengthened, Russia was challenged as the leading force



in the Caucasus, and the prospects for exporting Middle Eastern-style instability through the Turkish proxy forces from Syria to Azerbaijan created difficult collisions in Turkish-Iranian relations.

Growing Turkish ambitions will create difficult dilemmas for Moscow in the near future. Now, Turkey has the opportunity to enter the Caspian Sea and expand its activities and influence Central Asia. To the north, risks are increasing in the context of ties being built between Ankara and Kiev.

Ukraine believes in the all-conquering power of Turkish drones and is thinking about using them in Donbass. The significantly-increased Ukrainian military budget this year allows for big spending, and has pushed the country's political leadership to use military force. Strengthening the Turkish positions in Azerbaijan will also open up opportunities to expand Ankara's presence in Georgia.

The writer is a member of staff.

Pakistan's Economy and Projections for 2021

As far as Pakistan's economic outlook for 2021 is concerned, the World Bank had forecast an 'anaemic' 0.5 percent growth for the country in October 2020. The half-a-percentage economic growth rate is far below the official target of 2.1 percent that the incumbent Imran Khan-led PTI regime had set for its 3rd year in power. As per the World Bank's forecast, Pakistan's economic outlook remains fragile for at least two years, as the outbreak of the coronavirus respiratory disease compounded the country's miseries. The Washington DC-based lender had further projected, "Vulnerable households rely heavily on jobs in the services sector, and the projected weak services growth is likely to be insufficient to reverse the higher poverty rates precipitated by the pandemic. Given anaemic growth projections in the near term, the poverty is expected to worsen. A possible resurgence of the infection, widespread crop damage due to locusts and heavy monsoon rains pose major risks to the outlook. Despite weak activity, consumer price inflation rose from an average of 6.8 percent in fiscal year 2019, due to surging food inflation, hikes in administered energy prices, and a weaker rupee, which depreciated 13.8 percent against the US dollar in last fiscal year."

2021 *Pakistan in*



By any definition, Pakistan has entered 2021 with a high-risk political and economic situation that is most likely to persist. The life for a common Pakistani will remain full of challenges. Going beyond deficit management, the government must focus on improving the lives and livelihoods of the people.

Pakistan will face three key challenges to make 2021 a better year for its economy and its people. First of these is a dirty combination of highest inflation and lowest economic growth in the region. Asian Development Bank and the IMF estimates respectively suggest that Pakistan is expected to have an economic growth rate of 2 percent and 1 percent in 2021, against an average growth rate of 7.1 percent for South Asia. In the same year, Bangladesh and India will grow at 6.8 percent and 8 percent, respectively. This may seriously limit Pakistan's ability to finance economic recovery and produce enough livelihood opportunities for its people.

Under the financing constraints, Pakistan may end the fiscal stimulus abruptly when it needs it most. A second wave of Covid-19 is already there. Most importantly, the stimulus in 2020 was almost half (3.1 percent of the GDP) of the required 7 percent of the GDP, according to the UNESCAP estimates. An abrupt withdrawal of fiscal stimulus will not only delay the economic recovery but also compromise the much-needed support to social protection, health, education and SMEs.

Second, the financial account risks are likely to push the government to resume the IMF programme and revert to its stabilisation regime. Pakistan's financial account has already turned negative. Capital outflows worth over \$300 million, repayments of outstanding loans and lower bilateral project financing inflows can be cited as major reasons. The situation will be worsening in the second half of 2021 when most of the debt relief from G20 and Paris Club mature.

Third, political instability may peak during early 2021. This will likely discourage capital inflow and drive the existing capital out of the market. The opposition alliance

under Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) seems committed to organizing a long march and a sit-in in March. Increased political uncertainty can further lower productive capacities, reduce investment and trade flows. Violence around PDM protests can disturb immediate and potential long-term investment inflows increasing further the risks to financial account. A call for paying back the friendly cash deposits from Saudi Arabia and the UAE and rising oil prices on the back of global economic recovery after the Covid-19 vaccine can further pressure the financial account.

Certain steps are required to steer safely through 2021. First and foremost, the political heat needs to be cooled down. Political instability will not allow any meaningful planning and implementation of policies.

Second, the government must undertake growth-enhancing structural reforms. Any reforms slowing down the economic growth in the name of stabilisation and adversely affecting the lives and livelihoods of people must be avoided. The poor and marginalised segments of society must be protected against the negative fallout of these reforms through a proactive and dynamic social protection system.

Third, Pakistan must convince the IMF that exclusive focus on current account deficit and fiscal deficit may hurt the economic recovery. In this regard, policies of higher interest rate and raising the energy prices must be reconsidered. The revenue targets need to be readjusted downward.

Fourth, the SBP must continue to support fiscal expansion at the current interest rate. The "enough is enough" feeling because of highest cut in the region must not motivate monetary authorities to increase the rate or not cut it further down when due. Clearly, we had the highest cut because we had the highest policy rate in the region. We still have the highest. Any increase in the interest rate will compromise the gains from fiscal stimulus and delay economic recovery. A priority focus of SBP on financial inclusion of SMEs can help restore many who were laid off in the first wave of the pandemic. ■

Although the new digital media platforms have "encouraged women to report rape cases, they have, at the same time, bred cyber violence against them," says Dr Arshad Ali, an Assistant Professor at the Centre for Media & Communication Studies of the University of Gujrat. Dr Arshad has done his PhD on Portrayal of Women in Pakistani Cinema. He says, "The content of our mainstream media, unfortunately, revolves around political subjects. In this scenario, social media has empowered our people, especially women victims of violence, to speak out against this ill and it is the principal factor behind an increase in the number of reported cases. However, as they say 'technology is a double-edged sword'; it has both positive and negative aspects. The dark side of social media use is depicted by instances of blackmailing and harassing women. So, we need to use this double-edged sword with prudence. One thing that we must keep in mind is that a vast majority of women do not have access to digital media due to backwardness and high illiteracy rates in our country. Nonetheless, mass and social media can play a key role in

raising awareness on the issue of VAWG."

Keeping in view all these things the "Women, Peace, and Security Index, 2019-20," published by Georgetown University's Institute for Women, Peace and Security, has ranked Pakistan 164th among 167 countries.

There is hardly a household in the world where women do not experience physical violence, harassment, threats, humiliation or deprivation. On April 6 last year, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, Executive Director of UN Women, released a statement in which it was revealed: "In the previous 12 months, 243 million women and girls (aged 15-49) across the world have been subjected to sexual or physical violence by an intimate partner. As the Covid-19 pandemic continues, this number is likely to grow with multiple impacts on women's wellbeing, their sexual and reproductive health, their mental health, and their ability to participate and lead in the recovery of our societies and economy."

The latest statistics reveal that the number of reported instances of violence, especially domestic, against women has increased manifold as worries related to security, health and financial woes have rendered the family

The Hydra-headed Monster of Domestic Violence-II



Health systems can help women survivors of violence during COVID-19



Identify and share

Information on support services, including opening hours and contact details



Establish referral linkages



Find out what survivors of violence need and how best to reach them safely



ambience tenser than before, and life is getting restricted due to lockdowns imposed to save people from catching Covid-19. According to UN data released in September 2020, lockdowns have led to increases in complaints or calls to report domestic abuse of 25 percent in Argentina, 30 percent in Cyprus and France and 33 percent in Singapore. Moreover, the instances of domestic violence and demands for emergency shelters have also seen an exponential increase in Canada, Germany, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States. Experts assert that the Covid-19 pandemic has jeopardized all the development that has erstwhile been made in the eradication of violence against women and girls (VAWG) and this will lead to slow progress on achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) related to women. For instance, SDG 5 lays out gender equality and the empowerment of all women as critical goals, while SDG 16 commits the international community to promote peaceful and open societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions.

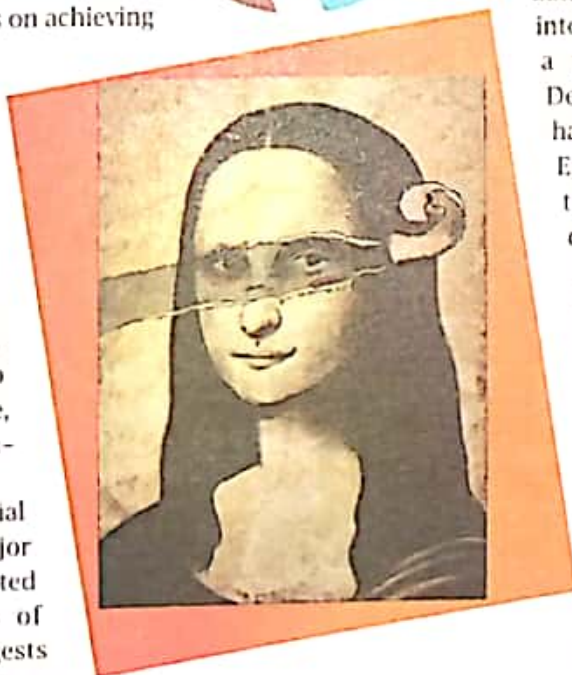
The worsening situation of financial insecurity, which is one of the major factors behind VAWG, has effected an increase in the instances of violence. Available evidence suggests that ensuring women's access to

regular, safe and sustainable sources of income is imperative to curb this menace. If a woman has irregular or unprotected sources of income, she is less likely to part ways with her trigger-happy partner. Moreover, unusual changes in the incomes of a woman or her spouse may also ensue in more violence, especially when the capacity of the bread-winner of the family is questioned. The strain caused by increased unemployment can lead to increased VAWG. In this situation, women's access to support services in case of violence against them is also restricted. Owing to lockdowns, women have to spend more time at home with their violent partners, and they find themselves unable to access those

institutions or sources that can help them. The situation becomes more problematic due to measures like limited movement and social distancing. Hence, a woman has to face problems in reporting cases, and getting protection thereupon from police stations or courts. She cannot even dial a hotline established for this purpose as her violent spouse is with her all the time, hence limited access to a phone.

The situation of VAWG in Pakistan is also not much different from that in any other country in the world. Research has established that unemployment is directly related to more depression, aggression and violence in men. Owing to a decline in economic activities, economic instability and lockdown, employment opportunities in Pakistan have seen a steep fall which may result in more VAWG.

Although we do not have authentic data on the issue of VAWG, a glimpse into it can be had from the figures that a think tank Sustainable Social Development Organization (SSDO) has collected from three Urdu and English-language dailies. It says that between the first two quarters of 2020 — January to March and April to June — the VAWG cases have shown an increase of whopping 244% while individual cases of domestic violence have surged by 294%. It must be remembered here that the second quarter, that is, April to June 2020, was the peak time of Covid-19. Moreover, statistics released by Punjab Safe City Authority (PSCA) and Punjab Unified Communication and



Response (PUCAR-15) show a tremendous rise in domestic violence during Covid-19 lockdown. The statistics are based on the calls received on two emergency helplines; PUCAR-15 emergency line has the data of the whole province except Lahore, and PSCA-15 helpline has collected separate data of Lahore. The statistics show that 13,478 calls reporting domestic violence were received on 15 helplines from Lahore only between January and May 2020. As many as 2,096 calls were received in January, 2,360 in February, and 2,853 in March. The helpline received 3,079 calls in April and 3,090 calls in May. The statistics clearly indicate an alarming surge in domestic violence cases during the Covid-19 pandemic.

On the other hand, PUCAR-15 statistics show a 25 percent rise in domestic violence reports during lockdown across the province. As many as 2,581 cases of domestic violence were reported in the month before lockdown (February 22 to March 22). After the lockdown was imposed the number of reported cases rose to 3,217 (between March 23 and April 23). There was a 10 percent decrease in complaints during the partial lockdown (from April 24 to May 23) with 2,889 cases.

According to UN Women and World Health Organization (WHO), data are an important source to ascertain as to why and how VAWG tends to increase during the emergencies like the current Covid-19 pandemic. They can help us to identify the factors behind this grave problem and also to formulate and design such policies and programmes that respond to women's needs, reduce threats and mitigate harmful effects during and after the pandemic. They can also provide helpful insights for chalking out and developing strategies that will be very effective in curbing the

WHAT TO DO IF YOU WITNESS AN ACT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Restorative justice promotes a victim-centered approach to justice and focuses on how the harm caused by criminal behavior may be addressed. To restore justice and allow survivors some respite during this trying time, there are steps that you can take as an observer.



Above all, do no harm. Intervene only if you are certain that the situation will not become worse after you do so.



Contact the first responders. Various government helpline numbers have been created since the beginning of the pandemic. The Indian government, for instance, launched a WhatsApp number (+91721 773 5372) to receive complaints.



Try to assist survivors who may need financial support and other resources. Contact NGOs that work in the field of women's rights, and use social media to call out acts of injustice and to form support groups.



Begin by ensuring that you place the safety of the survivor and yourself first. Create a safety plan.



Come together as a community without judgment. Engage, vindicate, and listen to the narratives of survivors. This may also provide a cathartic experience to survivors and help them process information.

Looking for the number of the helpline in your country, as well as those in the region? Please go to this website: www.justicehelpline.org

menace of VAWG in cases of emergencies and pandemics of the future.

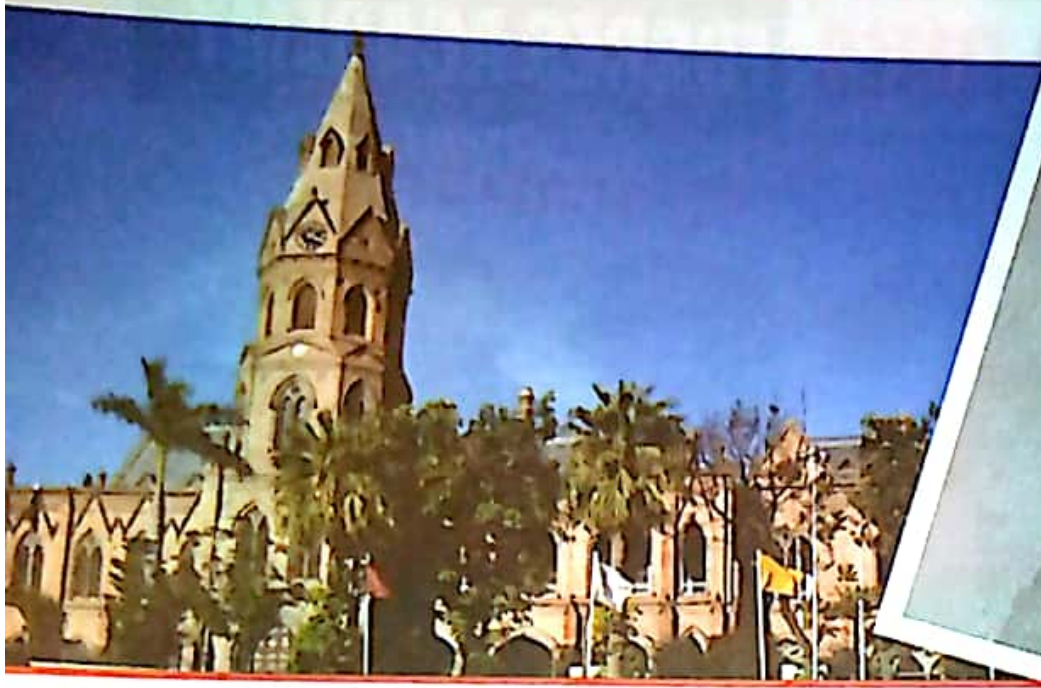
Although, quite encouragingly, Pakistan's federal ministry of human rights has established a helpline 1099 and has also issued a WhatsApp number 03339085709 where incidents of domestic violence can be reported during the lockdown, yet no arrangements to deal with the VAWG cases have been provided for in the country's National Action Plan for Preparedness & Response to Corona Virus Disease (Covid-19).

At a time when the second wave of Covid-19 pandemic has hit the country, there is a pressing need to pay attention to this aspect as well. Moreover, allocation of more funds for the eradication of VAWG and improving women's socio-economic conditions

should be ensured in federal and provincial budgets. This would serve as key to making the dream of a peaceful and prosperous Pakistan come true. ■

The writer can be contacted at: misteratif@yahoo.com





Dr Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner

A forgotten educator

Magazine Desk

Early Life

Dr Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner was born, in Budapest, Hungary, on 14 October 1840. He belonged to a Jewish family and his father Leopold Saphir died when Leitner was still a toddler. In 1849, his family migrated to Turkey "possibly for reasons connected with the failure of 1848 revolution in Hungary, his mother moved with her two children to Constantinople," as described in the Dictionary of National Biography. Within five years, Leitner completed his primary education in Istanbul, Brusa and Malta. He learned Turkish and Arabic. By the age of ten, he was fluent in Turkish, Arabic and most European languages. At the age of 19, Leitner was appointed as a lecturer of Arabic, Turkish and Greek at King's College, London. By the age of 23, he was appointed as a professor of Muslim Law and Arabic at the same college. He fluently spoke and wrote 50 languages and dialects, and to top it all, he could, thanks to his experience of working in Turkey, recite the Holy Quran by memory.

Career

Dr Leitner was commissioned as First Class Interpreter, in 1855, to her majesty's commissariat at Simla with the rank of full colonel, during the last eight months of the Crimean war. As the war was over, he returned to Istanbul and attended Muhammadan Theological School where he completed his Islamic Studies.

In 1861, he succeeded the Rev. J.J.S. Perowne as Professor of Arabic and Islamic Jurisprudence. The Freiberg University of Germany conferred upon him the degrees of MA and PhD in 1862.

It was while serving as a professor at Kings College that Dr Leitner was asked to travel thousands of miles to become the first principal of Government College, Lahore, the first institution of higher learning in Punjab. This was indeed a daunting task as his tenure would set the tone for the development of modern education in the region. He held this influential post for a long period of 22 years. With his untiring efforts, determination and a true passion for spreading education, the college soon gained a huge reputation in India and abroad.

An enlightened Hungarian and a naturalized Britisher, Dr Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner was a visionary person who rendered invaluable contributions in laying the foundations of modern education in Punjab. Not only was Leitner the first principal of Government College Lahore, the first institution conceived and set up by the British in North India, he was also the registrar of the Punjab University at its establishment and also the first principal of Oriental College.

Dr Leitner's stay in India was largely responsible for the development of modern education, where learning in both Western and Oriental languages was promoted and learning for its own sake, rather than just for cramming and examination, was promoted.

He founded many schools, literary associations, public libraries and academic journals, while at the same time dedicating himself to the study of the cultures of the Indian subcontinent.

On retirement, Dr Leitner returned to England at the end of the 19th century, only to establish the famous Woking Mosque and Islamic Research Centre, an establishment that, for the first time, introduced serious research on matters Islamic and Oriental.

Writings

Dr Leitner was also a prolific writer. He wrote articles regarding Islam, education in Punjab, and treatise on politics and culture of Northern Areas, which he visited in 1866. He titled it Dardistan - the areas between Kabul, Badakhshan and Kashmir. Dr Leitner's writings reveal a culturally saturated mind moving from art to religion, showing how they intermix, but not with the coarseness of ideological beliefs. Leitner was very fond of publishing journals and newspapers. He published journals in Arabic, Persian and Urdu. The journals of the Anjuman-e-Punjab revolutionized the literary scenario of the subcontinent. In 1866, he issued a journal namely Indian Public Opinion from Lahore to reflect the opinion of common populace. After a decade, it was renamed as Civil and Military Gazette. He served as the Editor and Mr Rudyard Kipling as assistant editor. It continued even after the independence of Pakistan.

History of Indigenous Education in Punjab came out in 1882 and is still considered the primary source on the state of education in 19th-century Punjab. Similarly, he published several other treatises and books including The Languages and Races of Dardistan in 1889. Pritchett

maintains, while drawing on Muhammad Sadiq's biography of Muhammad Hussain Azad, that Leitner was "somewhat autocratic by temperament, but a most effective popularizer and shaper of opinion".

Dr Leitner breathed his last on March 22, 1899, in Bonn, and was buried in Woking, near the mosque he founded. His genuine sympathy for the cultures of Asia marked

him out as an early advocate of what is now termed 'multiculturalism', many decades ahead of its time.

Dr Leitner kept a moderate attitude towards religion. He invited his fellowmen to understand ethics of the other religions in their particular context without any prejudice. In the same way, learning a language is 'you know nothing about it, in the midst of strangers who speak it'. Let us read what he said about the teaching of Islam in 'On the Sciences of Language and Ethnography':

"In 1859, I pointed out before the college of Preceptors, how necessary it was not only to discriminate between the chapters in the Koran delivered at Mecca and those given at Medina, but also to arrange the verses out of various chapters in their real sequence.

I believe we are now advancing towards a better understanding of this most remarkable book. But we still

find in its translation such passages,

for instance, as,

'when in war women are captured, take those

that are not married'. The

meaning is nothing so arbitrary. The expression for

'take' that we have there is ankohu -

marry i.e., take in marriage or nikah, as

no alliance can be formed with even a

willing captive taken in war, except through

the process of nikah, which is the religious

marriage contract. Again we have the passage, 'kill

the infidels wherever you find them'. There again is

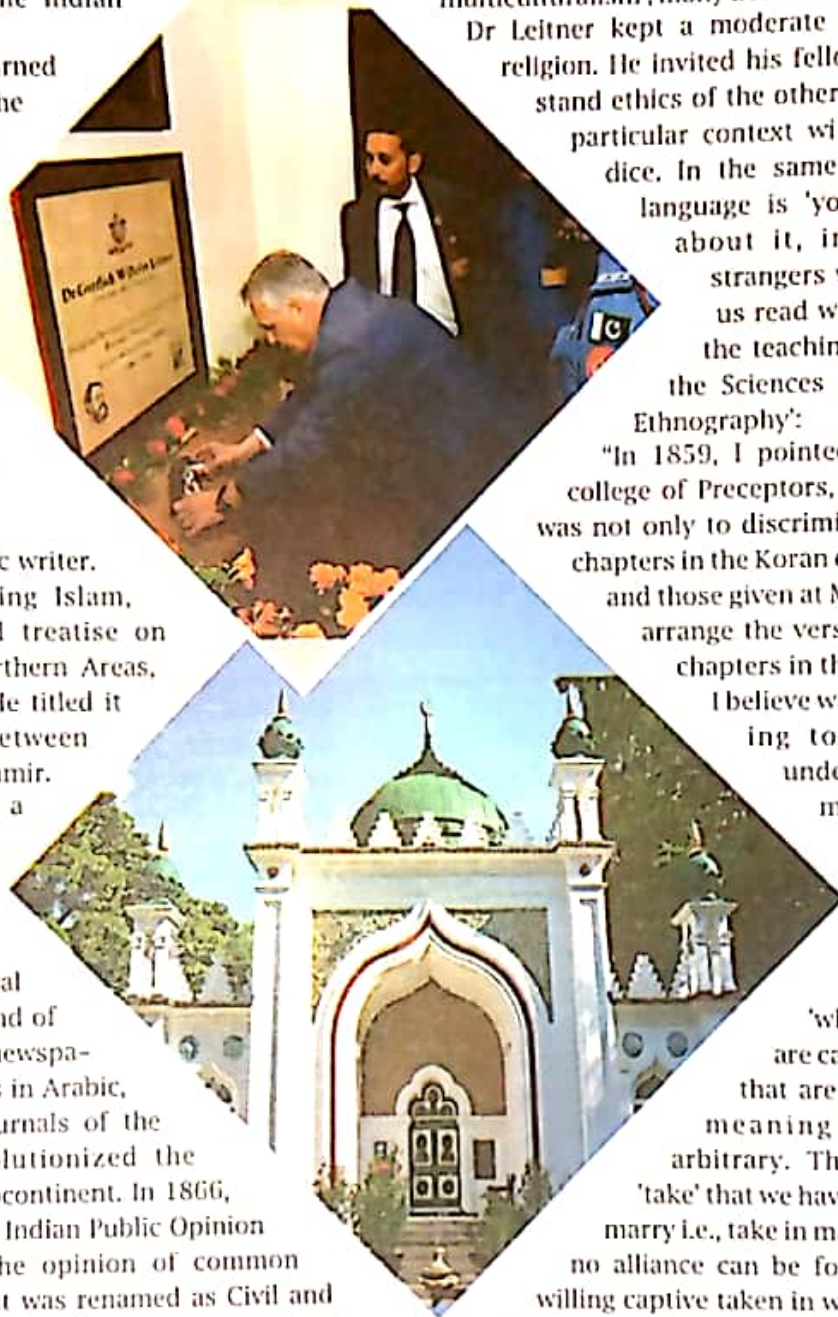
shown the want of sympathetic knowledge which is

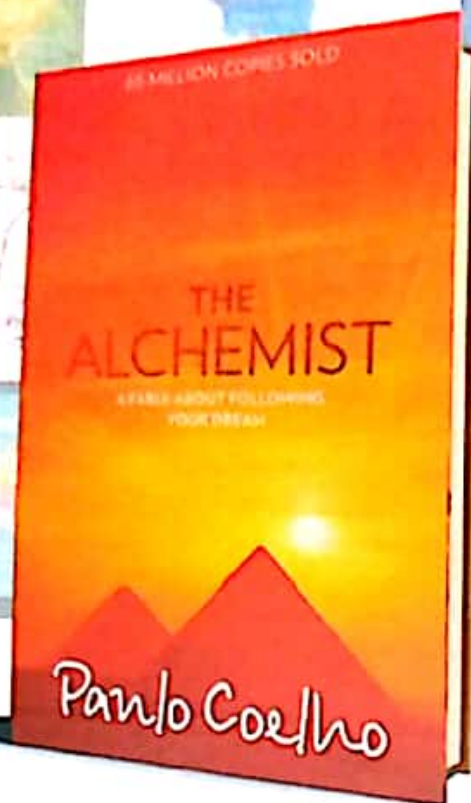
distinct from the knowledge of our translators who

render "Qatila" with kill when it merely means 'fight', and

refers to an impending engagement with enemies who

were then attacking Muhammad's camp." ■





'THE ALCHEMIST'

A quest for making dreams come true

Reviewed by: Sajad Jatoi

Anyone with keen interest in literature knows that there have been a few novels thus far which influenced the lives of their readers, and these novels deserve to have a place on everyone's bookshelf. If one were to make a list of such books, I know for certain that 'The Alchemist' would, surely,

make to it.

The Alchemist - O ALQUIMISTA in Portuguese - is a quest novel written by world-famous Brazilian author Paulo Coelho. This enchanting novel was first published in 1988 and, since then, it has been released in 170 countries and translated into 80 languages, setting the Guinness World Record for the most translated book by a living author. The title of the book may, offhand, connote that it is a story of an alchemist who strives to transmute some base metals into gold. But, this is not the case; the novel does contain the mention of an alchemist, but it is not its central character or protagonist. The part that the alchemist is involved in is just that of guiding Santiago, a young Andalusian shepherd, in the middle of his way to Egypt. The Alchemist narrates the story of Santiago from being a

shepherd in Andalusia to his setting off on a journey to the pyramids of Egypt, after having a recurring dream of finding a treasure there. When Santiago is young, his parents enrol him in a seminary for they want him to be a priest. But he has a predilection for travelling and knowing the world. After some time, around the age of 16,

he musters the courage to express what he wants in life. His father reasons with him that he cannot do that for he has not enough money to afford the expenses. But his father caves in to his determination and hands him some money to buy a herd of sheep because, after the rich, shepherds are the only people who travel the world. The boy does so, and two years later, when he has become used to herding sheep, he experiences a recurrent dream — one that he has before — while sleeping in an abandoned church. It is at this time

when he wonders what his dream is about. At this juncture, the novel becomes more interesting. He wants to know the interpretation of the dream. He meets a gypsy who tells him that he would find a treasure somewhere around the pyramids of Egypt, with the proviso that he must give her one-tenth of it, as a charge for its

"You can become blind by seeing each day as a similar one. Each day is a different one, each day brings a miracle of its own. It's just a matter of paying attention to this miracle." —The Alchemist

BOOK REVIEW

interpretation. He considers it ridiculous and brushes it aside. This is a very interesting part of the book as it is at this time when he meets an old man, the King of Salem named Melchizedek. The king tells him that his dream would come true and he would find the treasure, but for letting him know of its location, he would charge him one-tenth of his sheep. At first, the boy presumes him to be the husband of the gypsy and considers it a trick. The king tells him about his past and the things that he has never mentioned to anyone. This allays his suspicions. He weighs the pros and cons of pursuing his dream and eventually decides to start his journey. He meets the old man the following day; hands him his due and asks for the location. The king gives him the hint that he would find it near the pyramids of Egypt

**When you want something,
all the universe conspires
in helping you to achieve it.**

it. It added to my vocabulary some new terms such as the principle of favourability to define superstitious things and answered questions on my mind that how people become addicted to things like gambling - he terms it the beginner's luck or the principle of favourability. It propagates the idea of believing in oneself; it says that when you want something, the entire universe conspires in helping you to achieve it. In addition, it says that people fall prey to bad things because nature favours them at first, which Coelho terms beginner's luck.

The novel contains some superstitious events such as the turning of the boy into a storm. This aspect does not seem very interesting and is hard to believe, especially in this modern world. However, there are a good many things to be learned from the book. It influences the reader's

Some quotes from the book

"One's Personal Legend (destiny) is what you have always wanted to accomplish. Everyone, when they are young, knows what their Personal Legend is. 'At that point in their lives, everything is clear and everything is possible. They are not afraid to dream, and to yearn for everything they would like to see happen to them in their lives. But, as time passes, a mysterious force begins to convince them that it will be impossible for them to realize their Personal Legend....whoever you are, or whatever it is that you do, when you really want something, it's because that desire originated in the soul of the universe. It's your mission on earth."

"Tell your heart that the fear of suffering is worse than the suffering itself. And that no heart has ever suffered when it goes in search of its dreams, because every second of the search is a second's encounter with God and with eternity."

"If someone isn't what others want them to be, the others become angry. Everyone seems to have a clear idea of how other people should lead their lives, but none about his or her own."

"Love is not to be found in someone else but in ourselves; we simply awaken it. But in order to do that, we need the other person."

"You can become blind by seeing each day as a similar one. Each day is a different one, each day brings a miracle of its own. It's just a matter of paying attention to this miracle."

"It's the possibility of having a dream come true that makes life interesting."

"There is only one thing that makes a dream impossible to achieve: the fear of failure."

and advises him that he should always look around for omens whenever he feels uncertain. After this, his adventurous journey begins. Along the way, he meets an Englishman who describes the Soul of the World; the desert woman Fatima, who teaches him the Language of the World; and an alchemist who says, "Listen to your heart". In the beginning, he loses all that he had possessed. But, after some time, he settles again, and the path to his destination appears smooth. When Fatima comes into his life, his dream, on the surface, seems to cost him dearly as it revolves around his love and desires.

The English version of the book that I have read, and done this write-up from, is easy to follow. I came across this book two years ago. This is the first novel that, even after reading it several times, still appeals to me. The moment I finished reading this for the first time, I wanted to review

outlook on life. Speaking of the personal experience, it inculcates into its readers a sense of determination, and tells them that they should follow their dreams, no matter how impossible they may seem. It advises that perseverance and the absence of fear are the only things that help us achieve what we aim for. There is a point in the book which suggests that we should not quit following our dreams, even if we fall in love. In one of the dialogues between the boy and his beloved, Fatima, it says that true love is that which does not prove an obstacle to our pursuit of dreams. It should not prevent us from achieving our ambitions. Though it is, technically, a novel it will not be wrong to term it a motivational piece of writing. ■

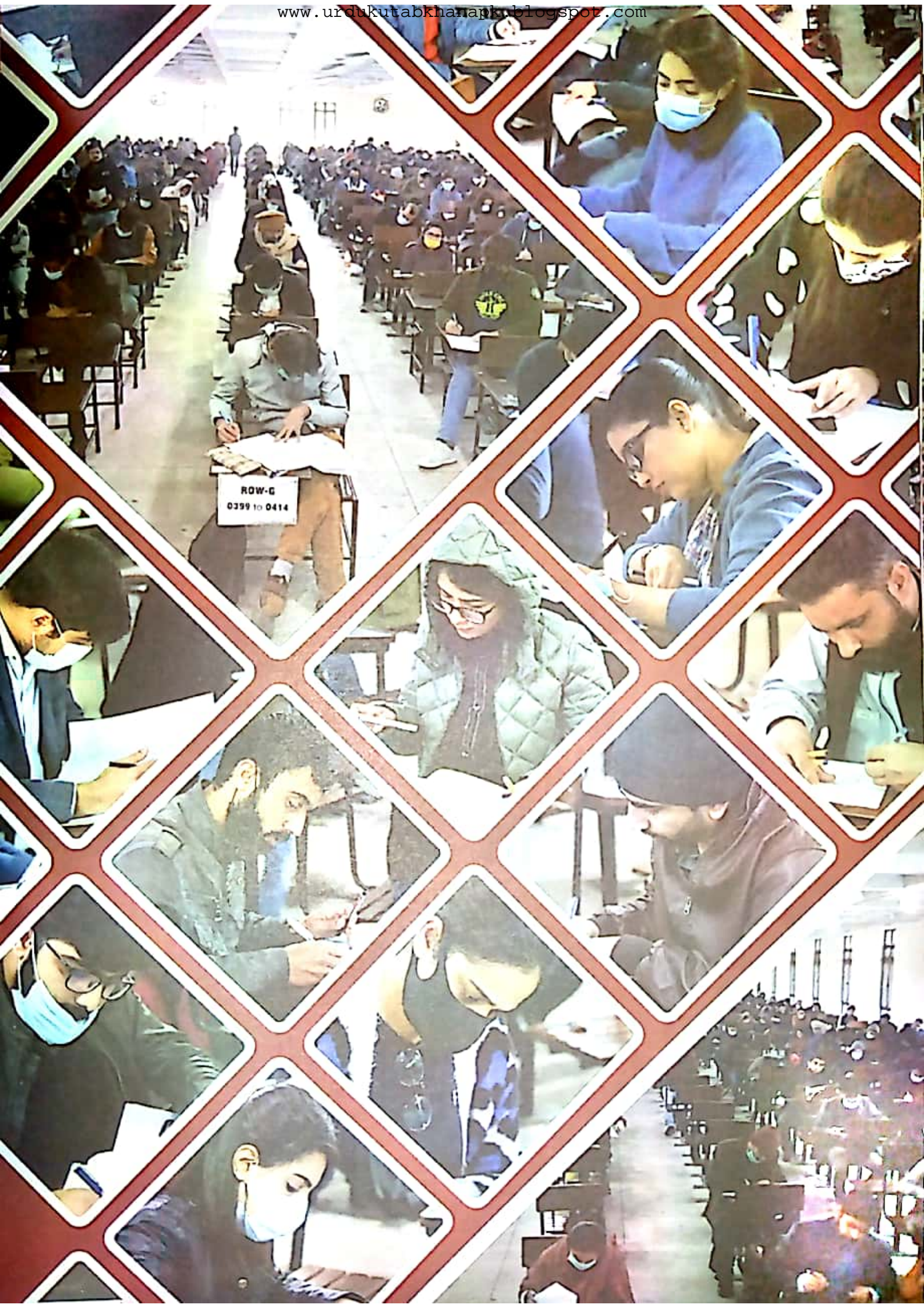
*The writer is a freelance writer.
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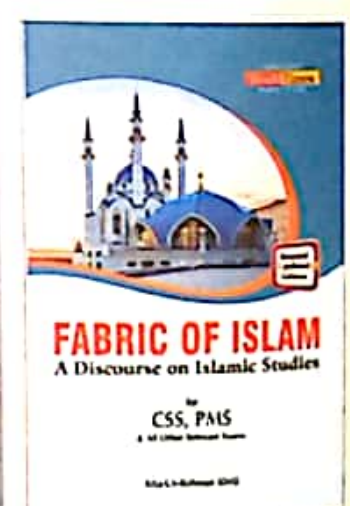
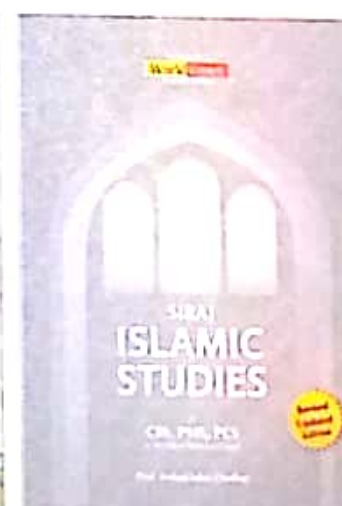
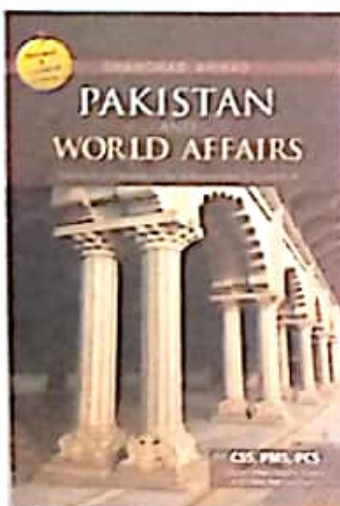
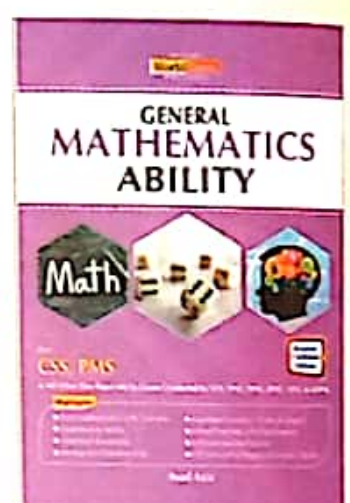
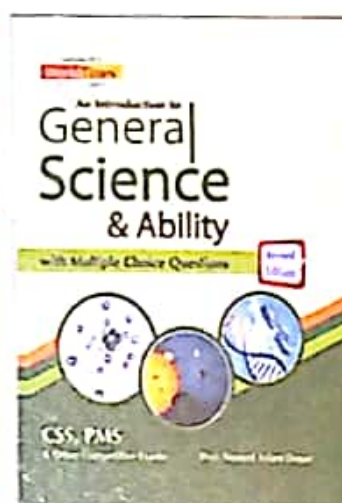
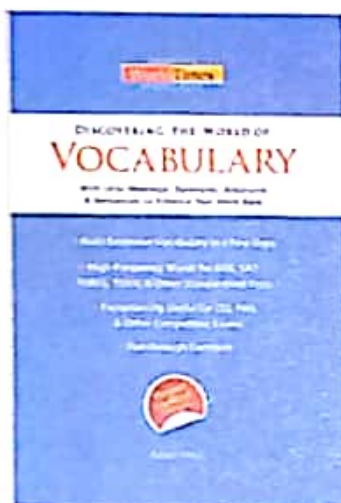
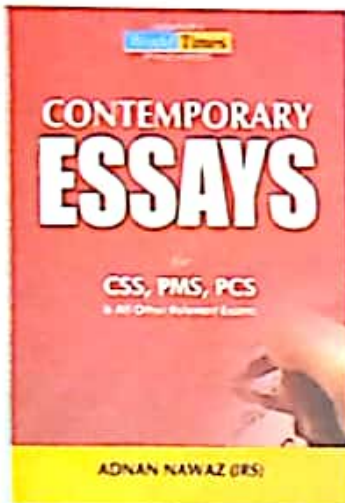
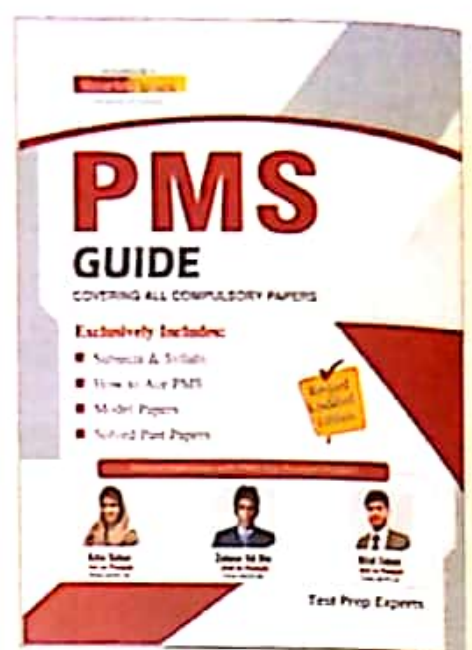
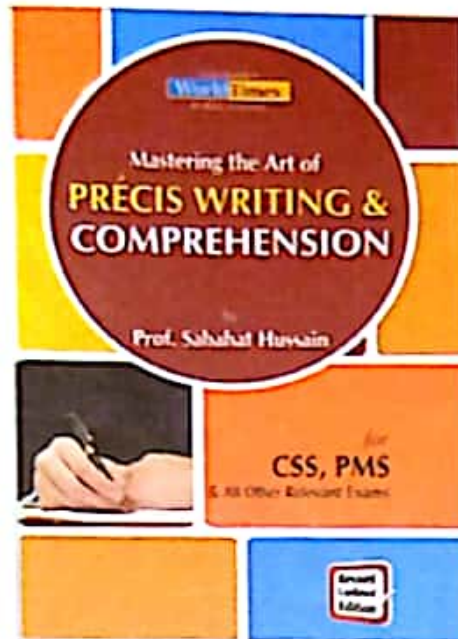
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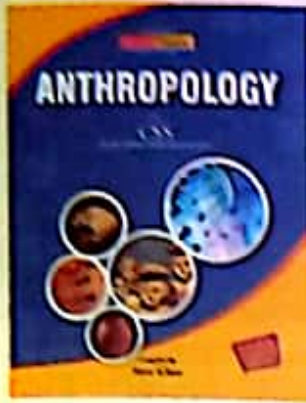
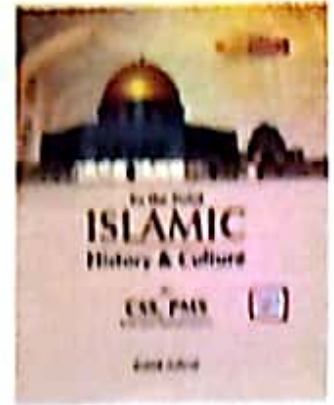
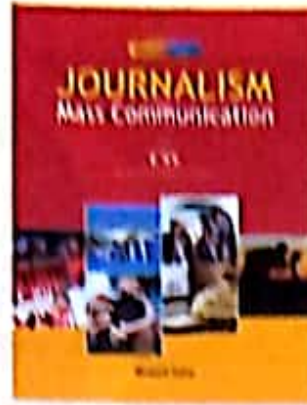
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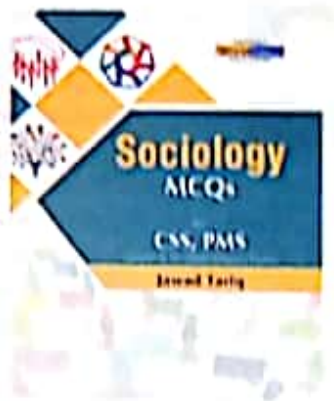
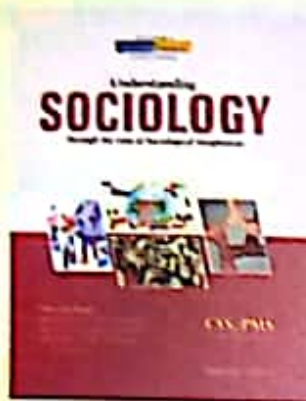
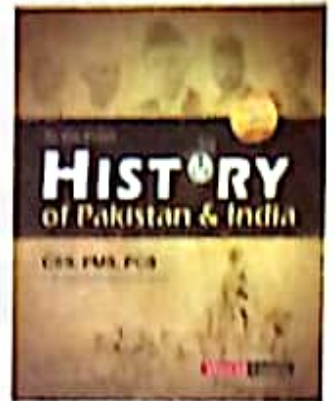


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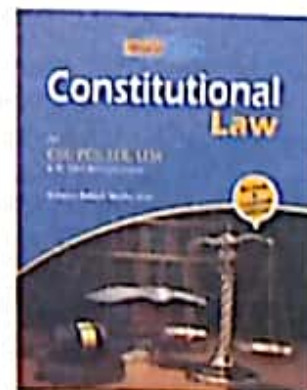
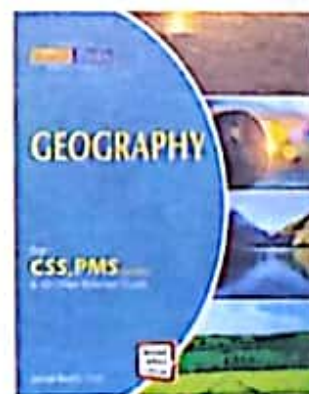
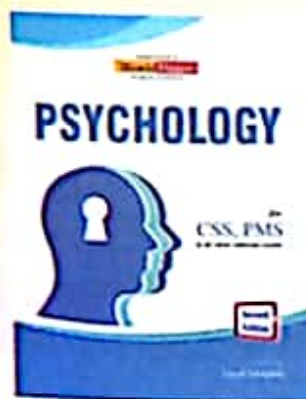
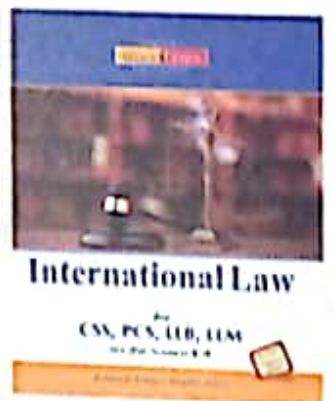
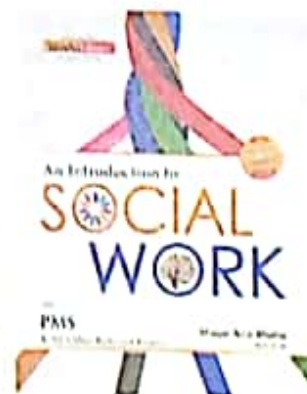
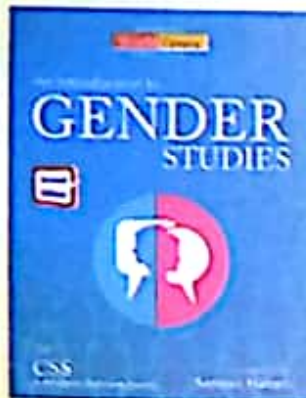




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Dec-Jan '20

WORLD IN FOCUS

NATIONAL

M. Usman Butt



Dec. 16: Taliban Political Commission, headed by Mulla Abdul Ghani Baradar visited Islamabad for delegation level talks.

Dec. 16: Pakistani film actress Firdous Begum, best known for her role as Heer in *Heer Ranjha*, passed away.

Dec. 16: The Judicial Commission of Pakistan (JCP) approved the nomination of Justice Qaiser Rashid Khan as the new chief justice of the Peshawar High Court (PHC).

Dec. 16: Pakistan returned \$1 billion to Saudi Arabia as a second installment of a \$3bn soft loan.

Dec. 16: Noted columnist and author, Irfan Husain, passed away. He was 76.

Dec. 16: The World Bank signed an agreement with Pakistan for a loan of \$304 million for the Punjab Resource Improvement and Digital Effectiveness Programme (PRIDE).

Dec. 17: Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi called on Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum in Dubai to discuss the welfare of Pakistani diaspora.

Dec. 17: The Balochistan High Court (BHC) declared certain clauses of the Defence Housing Authority Quetta Act, 2015, void, ruling that they violate the Constitution.

Dec. 17: Turkey's leading OSTIM Technical University conferred the first-ever 'International Education Entrepreneur Excellence Award' upon Syed Ghalib Raza Gillani, Director, Pakistan Embassy School Ankara.

Dec. 17: Pakistan ranked eighth in Global Slavery Index 2020.

Dec. 17: The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) approved a Pakistan-sponsored resolution that reaffirms the right to self-determination for peoples subjected to colonial, foreign and alien occupation.

Dec. 18: Japan extended a grant assistance of one billion Japanese yen to Pakistan for enhancing its capacity to confront Covid-19 and other infectious diseases.

Dec. 18: Inspector General of Police (IGP) Punjab Inam Ghani



1979 with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat (right)

JOE BIDEN



Nov 20, 1942
Born in Scranton, Pennsylvania



Aug 2020 with Harris

1960

1965: Graduated from Delaware University, entered law school

1966: Married Neilia Hunter in New York

Won first election in New Castle County Council

1970

1972: Elected to the US Senate. Wife Neilia and daughter Naomi died in accident. 2 sons critically injured

1980

1977: Married Jill Jacobs

1978: Re-elected to Senate

1984: Re-elected to Senate; later became Chair of Senate committee on Judiciary

1990

1988: Failed presidential bid

1990, 1996: Re-elected to Senate

2000

2002: Re-elected to Senate; later became Chair of Foreign Relations committee

2010

2008: Re-elected to Senate, failed presidential bid

Elected US Vice President on Democratic ticket as running mate of Barack Obama

2020

Re-elected Vice President

Nominated presidential candidate by Democrats; picked Kamala Harris as running mate

Declared winner of the presidential election

2021

Jan 7: Victory certified by the Congress

Jan 21: Took oath as the 46th US President

Seth Abid

On Jan. 08, renowned industrialist and social figure Seth Abid Hussain died.

Hailing from Kasur, Seth Sheikh Abid Hussain, popularly known as Seth Abid, was one of the richest men in Pakistan. He remains an enigma for most people. He was one of the biggest gold merchant in the world between the 50s and 80s, ending India's reign in the business. His smuggling network grew across the world with its main nodes in Karachi, Delhi, Dubai and London. He was dubbed the 'Gold King' by the international media in the late 50s. The title remains his to date.

Whatever his faults, Pakistanis owe him big time. When Pakistan's nuclear programme was still in its early stages, the United States had put an embargo on the country's attempts to import a nuclear reprocessing plant. However, Seth Abid, who loved to be called a patriot, proved his point by smuggling the plant from France in a shipping container.

Seth Abid became an urban legend when Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto launched a nationwide hunt for him and declared him Pakistan's most wanted man in 1974. However, throughout his regime, Bhutto was unable to catch Seth Abid. In 1977, Seth Abid surrendered to General Ziaul Haq's government and made a deal, donating generously to the Jinnah Post Graduate Medical Centre (JPMC) and the Abbasi Shaheed Hospital's Burn Ward. In return, he was handed back his property that the Bhutto government had confiscated.

Seth Abid was a passionate philanthropist and he donated generously to the

greater good. He founded the Hamza Foundation for blind and deaf children and several other non-profit organisations. PMIK acknowledged his donations to the Shaukat Khanum Memorial Trust in his obituary tweet, saying that Seth Abid was one of the first donors to the cause.

The Seth became an urban legend especially after he had bought Javed Miandad's bat from the famous Sharjah Cup for 500,000 (a lot at the time). Rumours of his wealth and how he used it became folklore. One rumour said that in Gen Zia's tenure, the government had once run out of cash and Seth Abid paid the entire country's public servants' salaries. He was also said to have said that he would pay off Pakistan's debt if his face would be printed on a currency note.

Later, in the 1990s, he also reportedly offered Pakistan to repay its entire debts if the government allows him to smuggle Pakistani centrifugal designs to other countries. This time Nawaz Sharif declined his offer.

The billionaire philanthropist had become increasingly reclusive since 2006 when his son, Hafiz Ayaz, was gunned down by a security guard. Seth Abid was deeply hurt and never came out of grief since then.



appointed Syed Nayab Haider the focal person for coordination with National Commission for Human Rights.

Dec. 18: Indian army 'deliberately' fired upon a UN vehicle carrying two military observers on a routine monitoring mission along the Line of Control (LoC).

Dec. 19: The Pakistan Cricket Board (PCB) named former Test batsman Muhammad Wasim as new chief selector till World Cup 2023, and Saleem Yousuf as chairman of the cricket committee.

Dec. 19: Minister for Defence Production Zubaida Jalal opened Gwadar Ramdhan, the second international border crossing point between Iran and Pakistan—the first one being Taftan.

Dec. 20: WAPDA won their maiden title by defeating Sui Southern Gas Company in the final of the National Football Challenge Cup.

Dec. 21: The number of active taxpayers crossed the three million mark for the first time in the country's history.

Dec. 21: Former federal secretary for water and power, Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, died.

Dec. 21: CEO Haier and Chairman Peshawar Zalmi Javed Afridi was presented with the Silk Road Friendship Ambassador's award by the Chinese government.

Dec. 21: Veteran journalist Hasan Musanna died. He was 94.

Dec. 21: The Government of Pakistan successfully concluded rescheduling agreements worth \$1.7 billion (Rs272 billion) with 19 creditors.

Dec. 21: A PML-N Senator from Balochistan, Kalsoom Perveen, died of coronavirus.

Dec. 22: The US-Pakistan International Chamber of Commerce (USPICC) appointed two leading business leaders, Muhammad Ahmed the President of Pakistan Chapter for two years, and Malik Sohail

Hussain the Secretary General for five years.

Dec. 22: The newly-appointed Chairman of Federal Public Service Commission Zahid Saeed took oath of his office.

Dec. 22: The federal cabinet approved the 6th National Census-2017.

Dec. 23: The 15th meeting of Pakistan-Turkey High Level Military Dialogue Group (HLMG) concluded in Ankara.

Dec. 24: The Pak-China Joint Air Exercise "Shaheen-IX" culminated at an Operational Air Base of PAF.

The Exercise 'Shaheen IX' witnessed participation of modern fighter jets and support elements from PAF and PLAAF.

Dec. 24: Prime Minister Imran Khan appointed Kamran Afzal the Federal Secretary for Finance.

Dec. 24: The Sindh High Court (SHC) struck down preventive detention of British nationality-holder Ahmed Omer Saeed Sheikh and three others.

Dec. 25: A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed between Zalmi Foundation and Huawei Pakistan on talent development activities.

Dec. 25: Legendary Urdu poet and critic from India Shamsur Rahman Faruqi passed away.

About Mr Faruqi

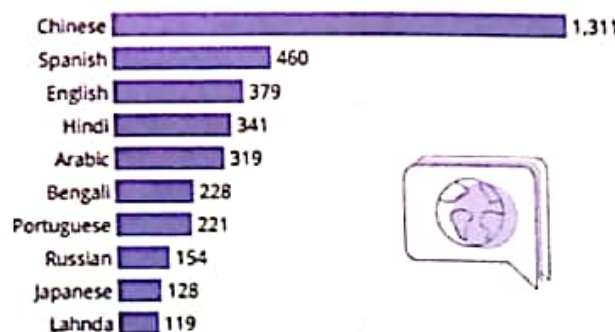
Born on September 30, 1935, in Uttar Pradesh, Faruqi is credited to have revived "Dastangoi," a 16th century Urdu oral

storytelling art form. His books 'Mirror of Beauty' (translated into English from the Urdu 'Kai Chaand Thay Sar-e-Aasmaan' in 2006), 'Ghalib Afsaney Ki Himayat Mein' (1989) and 'The Sun that Rose From the Earth' (2014) are among others he wrote in his five-decade-long literary career. He also received Saraswati Samman in 1996 for his work 'She'r-e-Shar-AngeZ', a study of the eighteenth-century poet Mir Taqi Mir.

Dec. 26: Special Secretary Foreign Affairs Dr Aman Rashid

The World's Most Spoken Languages

Estimated number of first-language speakers worldwide in 2019 (millions)



National Defence Authorisation Act

The US Senate recently passed the USD 740.5 billion of National Defence Authorisation Act. The act allocates funds for military ships, construction projects, aircraft, nuclear weapons and other national security initiatives.

Key Features of National Defence Authorisation Act, 2021

- Pacific Deterrence Initiative to counter China
- The act has allocated USD 2.2 billion to the Pacific Deterrence Initiative. The initiative aims to enhance the American deterrence and increase the capability and readiness of US forces in the Indo-Pacific region.
- Also, it will deepen US cooperation with its allies and partners such as Australia, India and Japan.

twice a year, on 1st January and 1st July, respectively.

Jan. 01: CCPO Lahore Umar Sheikh was removed from the post and replaced with Ghulam Mehmood Dogar.

Jan. 01: Pakistan captain Babar Azam was named as the Most Valuable Cricketer of the Year by a panel, constituted by the Pakistan Cricket Board.

→ M. Rizwan was declared Test Cricketer of the Year.

→ Fawad Alam's fighting and courageous 102 at Mount Maunganui, his first Test century in 11 years, was chosen as the Individual Performance of the Year.

→ Pakistan women's national cricket team all-rounder Aliya Riaz was named as the Women's Cricketer of the Year.

→ Fatima Sana was chosen as the Women's Emerging Cricketer of the Year.

→ Naseem Shah won the Emerging International Cricketer of the Year.

→ The Domestic Cricketer of the Year honours went to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's Kamran Ghulam.

→ Rohail Nazir won the Men's Emerging Cricketer of the Year.

→ The match referees and six Cricket Associations' captains voted Asif Yaqoob as the Umpire of the Year.

Jan. 02: The SNGPL Board of Director appointed Ali J. Hamdani the managing director of the company for a period of three years.

Jan. 03: Fast-rising youngster Omar Khalid created history when he comfortably won the 60th National Amateur Golf Championship of Pakistan to become the youngest ever player to claim the country's most prestigious title.

Jan. 03: Kashf Foundation earned the recognition of being the only Pakistani organization to be honoured at the first edition of Asia-Pacific Women's Empowerment Principles (WEPs) Award hosted by UN Women and funded by the European Union.

Jan. 03: Eleven coal miners belonging to the Shia Hazara community were executed by unidentified attackers in the Mach coal field area.

Jan. 04: The Lahore High Court (LHC) ruled that the virginity tests of rape survivors were "illegal and unconstitutional".

Jan. 04: The Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board notified implementation of Single National Curriculum across Punjab.

Jan. 05: The Supreme Court (SC) ordered reconstruction of the shrine of Hindu saint Shri Paramhans Ji Maharaj, damaged by a mob in Karak, with the money recovered from the maulvi and his followers who attacked and burnt the temple.

Jan. 05: IGP Punjab Inam Ghani ordered the establishment of

Space

The Space Force is to start research and development projects to promote competition in the National Security Space Launch Programme.

Cyber Security and Artificial Intelligence

- The NDAA contains the AI Initiative Act, National AI Research Resource Task Force Act and the Cyber security legislations
- The act holds many of the recommendations made by the Cyberspace Solarium Commission. This includes the creation of National Cyber Director position in White House
- The act also holds new standards for cybersecurity maturity model certification.

Punjab Police Information Branch. Chief of the branch will be of DIG rank and he will also be the official spokesperson of Punjab Police.

Jan. 06: Economic Affairs Division signed an agreement with the Islamic Development Bank for \$60 million financing for polio vaccine.

Jan. 06: The federal government appointed Qazi Jamilur Rehman the new IGP Islamabad.

Jan. 07: Pakistan conducted a successful test flight of indigenously-developed Fatah-1 (Guided Multi Launch Rocket System), capable of delivering a conventional warhead up to a range of 140 kilometres.

Jan. 08: An anti-terrorism court sentenced Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi, a leader of the proscribed Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) militant group, to 15 years in prison.

Jan. 08: PMIK launched the Special Technology Zones Authority (STZA) which would focus on the growth of the



scientific and technological ecosystem.

Jan. 08: Chief of the Army Staff (COAS) Gen Qamar Javed Bajwa was honoured with the Bahrain Order (first class) award by the Crown Prince, Deputy Supreme Commander and Prime Minister of Bahrain, Prince Salman bin Hamad bin Isa Al-Khalifa, for making significant contribution to defence cooperation between Bahrain and Pakistan.

Jan. 08: An anti-terrorism court in Islamabad sentenced 3 men to death for committing blasphemy in the cyber world. A fourth convict was awarded 10-year imprisonment.

Jan. 09: Justice Qaiser Rashid Khan took oath as chief justice of the PHC.

Jan. 09: The entire country plunged into darkness after it suffered complete power breakdown.

Jan. 09: Former deputy speaker of National Assembly and senior leader of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Haji Nawaz Khokhar, passed away.

Jan. 10: Renowned poet, writer and intellectual Naseer Turabi passed away. He was 75.

About Mr Turabi

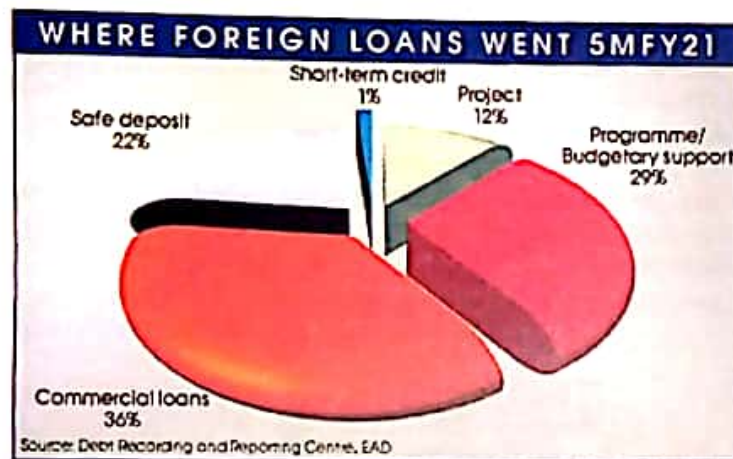
Naseer Turabi was born on January 15, 1945, in Hyderabad, which was then called Deccan. His father Allama Rasheed Turabi was also a renowned religious scholar of Indian Subcontinent.

Turabi had done his MA in Mass Communications from University of Karachi in 1968. He left four books, including *Aks-e-Faryadi* (Ghazliyat), *Shairyaat*, *Larailb* and *Lughatul Awam* (Urdu dictionary).

Jan. 10: Indonesian Consul General In Karachi, Totok Priyananto, passed away.

Jan. 11: Malik Sarood of the Independent Group, famously known as the Asma Jahangir group, was elected president of the Lahore Bar Association.

Jan. 11: Shabbir Lashkarwala defended the 13th National



Tenpin Bowling Championship men's title.

Jan. 11: PMIK launched Pakistan's first instant payment system - Raast - to enable end-to-end digital payments among individuals, businesses and government entities instantaneously.

Jan. 13: The National Vocational and Technical Training Commission (NAVTTTC) and Finland's Turku Vocational Institute signed an MOU to enhance bilateral cooperation in the field of technical and vocational education and training.

Jan. 13: Pakistan's 1992 World Cup-winning Skipper and Imran Khan emerged as the highest-rated captain in a poll conducted by the International Cricket Council (ICC) on its Twitter page.

Jan. 13: Turkish foreign minister Mevlut Cavusoglu and Pakistani education minister Shafqat Mahmood signed an MOU for the promotion of literacy in Pakistan.

Jan. 13: The international credit rating agency Moody's improved its rating for Pakistan's banking sector saying that the government's credit profile is stable due to ongoing reforms and increasing policy effectiveness.

Jan. 13: Prime Minister's Special Assistant for Political Coordination and spokesman Nadeem Afzal Chan resigned.

Jan. 13: Pakistan and Turkey agreed to increase collaboration for reflecting true Islamic values and enhancing interfaith harmony globally.

Jan. 13: Punjab Governor Chaudhry Mohammad Sarwar

Security Dilemma

According to the international relations scholars, when neighbour countries launch missile tests or rocket launches without informing one another, risks of distrust. In such scenario, even a non-hostile defensive action of one country might look threatening to the other. This situation of risks of escalating distrust is "Security Dilemma".

announced "Governor Awards" for the encouragement of the investors.

Jan. 13: Pakistan, Turkey and Azerbaijan agreed to strengthen cooperation in diverse fields and people-to-people ties, as well as continue to support each other on all issues involving the national interests of the three countries.

Jan. 14: The IHC stopped state-run TV Chairman Naeem Bukhari from performing his duties.

Jan. 14: Pakistan and Azerbaijan agreed to promote cooperation in the areas of economy and energy.

Jan. 15: Zareen Musharraf, the mother of former president and COAS General (R) Pervez Musharraf, passed away.

Jan. 15: Malaysian authorities seized, on the orders of a local court over the non-payment of aircraft lease dues, a Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) Boeing-777 airplane at the Kuala Lumpur Airport.

Jan. 15: The federal government appointed Mohammad Tahir Rai the new IGP of Balochistan.

Jan. 15: In one of his final acts as the US Secretary of State, Michael Pompeo redesignated Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) as foreign terrorist organisations.

Jan. 15: The long-delayed proposed law on domestic violence against women was passed by the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly.

The Sherman Act

Recently, the US Federal Trade Commission filed an anti-trust lawsuit against Facebook under Sherman Anti-trust Act. The social media giant is under the scanner for its acquisition of Instagram and Whatsapp. According to the lawsuit, the actions of Facebook deny consumers the benefit of competition. The aim is to roll back anti-competition conduct of Facebook and restore the competition so that innovation can thrive.

Congress passed the first antitrust law, the Sherman Act, in 1890 as a "comprehensive charter of economic liberty aimed at preserving free and unfettered competition as the rule of trade." The Sherman Act outlaws "every contract, combination or conspiracy in restraint of trade," and any "monopolization, attempted monopolization, or conspiracy or combination to monopolize." Long ago, the US Supreme Court decided that the Sherman Act does not prohibit every restraint of trade, only those that are unreasonable. For instance, in some sense, an agreement between two individuals to form a partnership restrains trade, but may not do so unreasonably, and thus may be lawful under the antitrust laws. On the other hand, certain acts are considered so harmful to competition that they are almost always illegal. These include plan arrangements among competing individuals or businesses to fix prices, divide markets, or rig bids. These acts are "per se" violations of the Sherman Act; in other words, no defence or justification is allowed.

The penalties for violating the Sherman Act can be severe. Although most enforcement actions are civil, the Sherman Act is also a criminal law, and individuals and businesses that violate it may be prosecuted by the US Department of Justice. Criminal prosecutions are typically limited to intentional and clear violations such as when competitors fix prices or rig bids. The Sherman Act imposes criminal penalties of up to \$100 million for a corporation and \$1 million for an individual, along with up to 10 years in prison. Under federal law, the maximum fine may be increased to twice the amount the conspirators gained from the illegal acts or twice the money lost by the victims of the crime, if either of those amounts is over \$100 million.

INTERNATIONAL

Dec. 16: The Olympic Council of Asia (OCA) announced that Doha will host the 2030 Asian Games while Riyadh was named as host of the 2034 edition.

Dec. 16: Belarus's Svetlana Tikhonovskaya received the Sakharov Prize, the EU's top rights prize.

Dec. 16: Carrying rocks and soil from the Moon, China's unmanned spacecraft Chang'e-5 returned safely to Earth.

Dec. 16: A French court convicted 14 people in relation to attacks in 2015 against the Charlie Hebdo satirical magazine.

Dec. 17: Gen. Mark Milley, Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, held talks with the Taliban peace negotiators in Doha, to urge a reduction in violence across Afghanistan.

Dec. 18: Russian UFC fighter Khabib Nurmagomedov was voted BBC Sports Personality's "World Sport Star of the Year."

Dec. 18: Robert Lewandowski was named The Best FIFA Men's Player 2020.

Dec. 18: Joe Biden chose congresswoman Deb Haaland to serve as the first Native American Interior Secretary and Jennifer Granholm, a former Michigan governor, as Energy Secretary.

Dec. 19: India crashed to their lowest ever score of 36, against Australia at Adelaide.

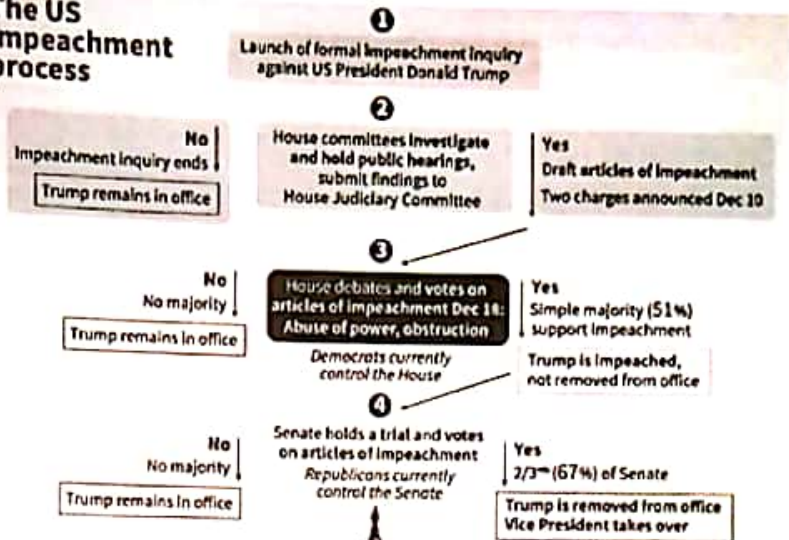
Dec. 19: Laboratory-grown chicken meat made a historic debut at a Singapore restaurant.

Dec. 20: Nepal's parliament was abruptly dissolved

advanced stealth fighter and longer-range anti-ship missile to counter China's growing military power.

Dec. 22: Britain's media regulator Ofcom imposed a £20,000 (Rs4.3 million) financial penalty on Republic Bharat TV in the UK for serious broadcasting breaches after the channel aired hate speech against the people of Pakistan in a show

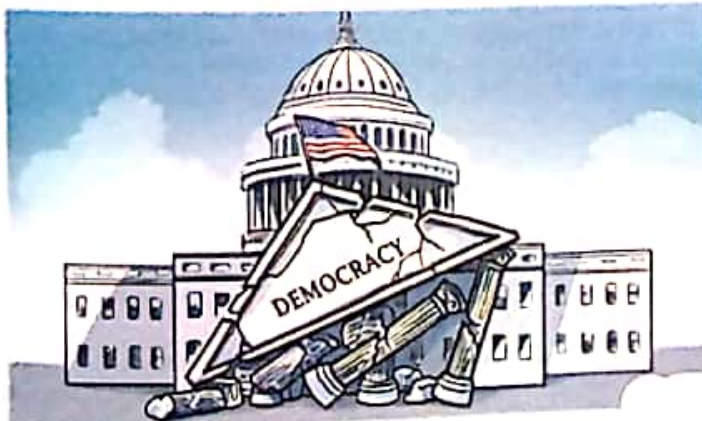
The US Impeachment process



What is Planetary Pressures-Adjusted HDI?

The Planetary pressures-adjusted Human Development Index (PHDI) is an experimental metric that adjusts the Human Development Index (HDI) for planetary pressures. This index is similar to the Inequality-adjusted HDI adjustment, previously introduced by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). It is the level of human development adjusted by carbon dioxide emissions per person and material footprint per capita. The material footprint is the amount of fossil fuels, metals and other resources consumed by a country to produce the required goods and services. In an ideal scenario where there are no pressures on the planet, the PHDI equals the HDI. However, all countries of the world have substantial pressure from their part. If this new metric is taken into account, Ireland tops the list.

Dec. 21: Japanese government approved a 9th consecutive rise in military spending, funding the development of an



conducted by controversial anchor Arnab Goswami.

Dec. 22: Russia slapped tit-for-tat sanctions on EU officials over their response to the poisoning of Alexei Navalny.

Dec. 22: China's new carrier rocket, the Long March-8, made its maiden flight.

Dec. 22: The "baggy green" cap awarded to late Australian cricketer great Sir Don Bradman on his test debut in 1928 was sold for Aus\$450,000.

Dec. 22: US lawmakers backed legislation granting Sudan legal immunity for past militant attacks.

Dec. 23: Moldovan Prime Minister Ion Chicu announced his resignation, paving the way for early parliamentary elections in the ex-Soviet country.

Dec. 23: Israeli parliament dissolved after Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's fractured ruling coalition failed to pass a budget.

WHO List of 10 Global Health Issues

The World Health Organization recently released a list of Global Health Issues. According to the WHO, these are the issues the world will have to deal with in 2021 due to inadequacies of health system created due to Covid-19. According to WHO, the pandemic could set back the global health progress achieved in the last twenty years. Therefore, it is essential to work hard to reinforce the health systems.

The WHO suggests ten ways to strengthen the preparedness for emergencies in 2021. These 10 issues are as follows:

1. Build Global Solidarity for worldwide health security

The WHO suggests that the countries should work together to improve their preparedness in pandemics and health emergencies. The WHO is to help tackle health emergencies. Also, a Bio Bank is to be established. The bank will share pathogen materials and clinical samples to facilitate rapid development of safe and effective vaccines.

2. Speed up access to COVID-19 tests

WHO suggests that the countries should work together to achieve equitable access of Covid-19 tests, vaccines and treatment. The ACT-Accelerator should be strengthened. The targets of ACT-Accelerator include distributing 2 billion vaccines, establishing testing for 500 people in low- and middle-income countries and 245 million treatments and strengthening health systems.

3. Advance Health for all

Two initiatives of WHO are to achieve this solving-related issues. They are the Primary Health Care (PHC) programme and UHC Compendium. The Principles of PHC were outlined in the Declaration of Alma-Ata in 1978. Forty years later, Declaration of Astana was signed to achieve Universal Health Coverage.

4. Tackling health inequalities

The WHO is to call for global action to address health inequities on April, 7, 2021. April 7 is marked as the World Health Day.

5. Provide Global Leadership on science and data

The WHO is to provide support to the countries in strengthening their data and information. This is to be achieved through the SCORE Technical Package of

WHO SCORE is

- Survey the population and health risks
- Count birth, death and causes of deaths
- Optimise health services data
- Review progress and performance
- Enable data used for policy and action

It is basically a World Health data platform. It also has a collection of data tools.

6. Revitalise efforts to tackle communicable diseases

The WHO and its partners have worked continuously to end polio, tuberculosis, HIV and malaria in several countries. They have worked intensively to avert epidemics of diseases such as yellow fever and measles. However, the covid-19 has setback much of their work in 2020. Therefore, in 2021, WHO will help countries get vaccines for polio and other diseases. Also, it will push to increase the access to HPV vaccines as a part of new Global effort to end the cervical cancer.

Also, WHO will work to implement the new 10-year Roadmap for Neglected Tropical Diseases.

7. Combat drug resistance

WHO will combat drug resistance through its Global Leadership Group for Antimicrobial Resistance.

8. Prevent and treat Non-Communicable Diseases

According to the Global Health Estimates of WHO, non-communicable diseases are responsible for seven of the top ten causes of death in 2019. WHO is to focus on cancer, heart diseases and diabetes. The Global Diabetes Compact of WHO and 'Quit Tobacco' campaign (a campaign to help hundred million people to quit tobacco) are to be strengthened.

9. Build back better

WHO is to hold a conference in June 2021 to support health in Small Island Developing States.

10. Act in Solidarity

This is to be achieved through new scientific collaborations.

Dec. 24: The UK and the EU agreed over a deal, covering trade worth £668 billion.

Dec. 25: The Tunisian president Kais Saied announced a six-month extension of the country's state of emergency.

Dec. 25: Russia revived a Soviet-era research facility to test weapons in severe Arctic conditions.

Dec. 25: The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) announced that the year 2020 leaves in its wake the warmest decade on record and one of the three hottest years ever measured.

Dec. 25: Former England batsman John Edrich, who made more than 100 first-class centuries, died at the age of 83.

Dec. 26: Libya's rivals kicked off a UN-brokered prisoner exchange, as a part of a cease-fire agreement inked in Geneva.

Dec. 27: Badminton world number one Kento Momota won the All-Japan championships.

Dec. 27: The EU countries embarked on a vaccination campaign to defeat the 'nightmare' of Covid-19.

Dec. 28: US President Donald Trump signed a massive \$900 billion stimulus bill, in a boost for millions of Americans and businesses battered by the coronavirus pandemic.

Dec. 28: India captain Virat Kohli topped two men's categories and Australia all-rounder Ellyse Perry swept the women's honours in the International Cricket Council's (ICC) "Awards of the Decade".

Dec. 29: In its first-ever decision on the right of children to acquire nationality, the UN Human Rights Committee determined that by registering the child as "nationality unknown," the Dutch authorities had violated his right to international protection and also to seek a nationality.

Dec. 29: Famous for his avant-garde style, legendary French designer, Pierre Cardin, passed away.

Dec. 29: John Fulton Reid, who scored six centuries in 19 Tests for New Zealand including 108 in a famous win over Australia, died at the age of 64.

Dec. 30: EU leaders signed their post-Brexit trade deal with Britain and dispatched it to London on an RAF jet, setting their seal on a drawn-out divorce just hours before the UK brings its half-century European experiment to an end.

Dec. 30: Iran announced to pay \$150,000 to every family of the 176 victims killed when a Ukrainian passenger plane was mistakenly shot down in January last year.

Dec. 30: Russian sumo wrestler Dzhabulat Khatokhov, who entered the Guinness World Records as the world's heaviest child in 2003, died at the age of 21.

Dec. 30: US President Donald Trump's pardons of four Blackwater contractors convicted of killing civilians in a 2007 Baghdad massacre is a violation of US obligations under international law, UN experts said.

Dec. 31: The United States voiced alarm after Russia expanded rules against NGOs and media considered "foreign agents," accusing Moscow of stifling free expression.

Dec. 31: Negotiators representing the governments in Madrid, London and Gibraltar signed a landmark deal, hours before the Brexit deadline, by which Gibraltar will become part of the Schengen zone to ensure fluidity on its border with Spain.

About the deal

The aim of the deal is to avoid the creation of a new 'hard border' between the tiny British territory and the European Union that would have caused huge disruption for travellers

EXAM PACK

and businesses on both sides of the line. Gibraltar's airport and port will become the UK's newest external border, with checks undertaken by the UK's Frontex border agency. The arrangement will be in place for an initial four-year period. To avoid a hard border, Gibraltar will join the EU's Schengen zone and follow other EU rules, while remaining a British Overseas Territory. Gibraltarians are British citizens. They elect their own representatives to the territory's House of Assembly, while the British monarch appoints a governor. The territory - home to a British military garrison and naval base - is self-governing in all areas except defence and foreign policy.

Dec. 31: Britain and the European Union parted their ways after Brexit deal came into force.

Jan. 01: The World Health Organisation (WHO) approved the Pfizer BioNTech vaccine for emergency use.

Jan. 01: India approved a coronavirus vaccine developed by

AstraZeneca and Oxford University for emergency use.

Jan. 01: Algeria's president Abdelmadjid Tebboune signed the country's new constitution into law.

Jan. 02: Mali's former prime minister Modibo Keita died at the age of 78.

Jan. 02: Kazakhstan abolished the death penalty, making permanent a nearly two-decade freeze on capital punishment in the authoritarian Central Asian country.

Jan. 02: Pedro Pierluisi was sworn in as the new governor of US territory of Puerto Rico.

Jan. 02: The US Senate voted overwhelmingly to override President Trump's veto of a sweeping defence bill, the first time lawmakers have done so during his presidency.

Jan. 04: A British district judge, Vanessa Baraitser, blocked WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange's extradition to the United States to face espionage charges.

Jan. 04: Nancy Pelosi was narrowly re-elected speaker of the US House of Representatives, as a new Congress took office.

Jan. 04: The US Congress passed a bill named after Nobel laureate Malala Yousafzai that expands the number of scholarships to women in Pakistan under a merit and need-based programme.

Jan. 05: Iran announced that it had stepped up uranium enrichment beyond the limits set in the Iran nuclear deal.

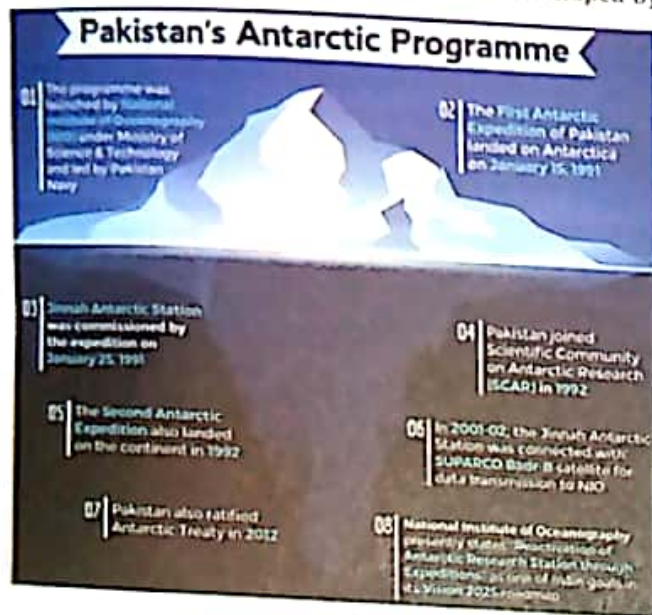
Jan. 05: During the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Summit in Saudi city of Al-Ula, the Gulf leaders also signed a "solidarity and stability" deal with the Kingdom, bringing Doha back into the regional fold after a three-year rift.

Jan. 05: Afghan negotiators resumed talks with Taliban in Doha.

Jan. 05: Elias Rahbani, who wrote songs for Lebanon's most revered singer Fairouz, died at the age of 83.

Jan. 05: Norway became the world's first country where electric cars made more than half the new registrations.

Jan. 05: Lai Xiaomin, a former Communist Party member, and

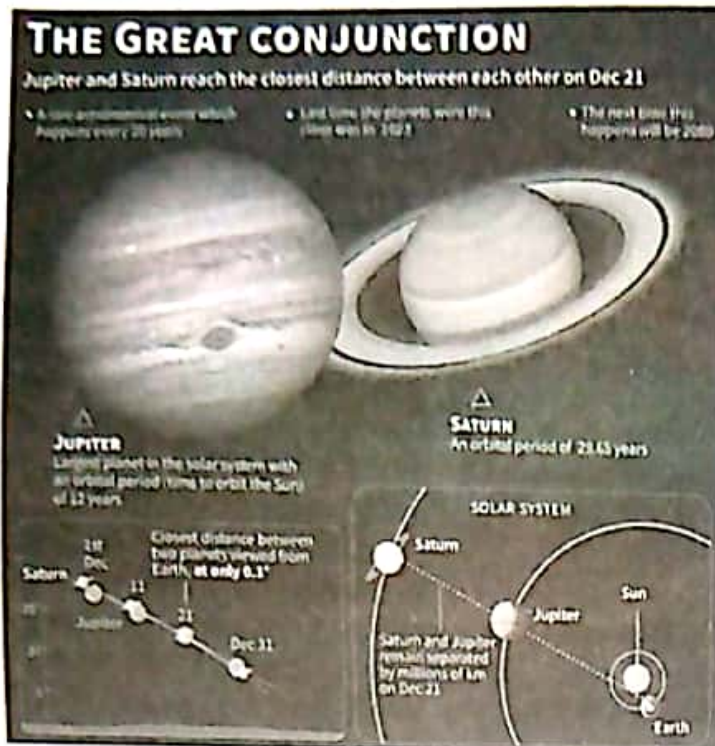


GK Tidbits

1. The Gulf's oldest elected parliament is in **Kuwait**
2. Sultan Abdullah Sultan Ahmad Shah is the king of **Malaysia**
3. Malaysia's current Prime Minister is **Muhyiddin Yassin**
4. The conspiracy theory that says that President Trump is waging a secret war against elite Satan-worshipping paedophiles in government, business and the media is known as **QAnon**
5. CEO of SpaceX and Tesla, Elon Musk was born in **Pretoria, South Africa**
6. Among the famous Misls of Sikhs, Maharaja Ranjit Singh belonged to **Sukarchakia Misl**
7. The first Sikh rulers of Lahore were the Sikh Trumvirate of **Lehna Singh Majithia, Gujjar Singh and Sobha Singh**
8. Hinglaj Mata Mandir is located in Hingol National Park in Balochistan's district **Lasbela**
9. Saudi Arabia and three other GCC countries cut ties and transport links with Qatar in **June 2017**
10. Twelve days after Christmas that celebrate the visit of the Three Wise men to the infant Jesus are called **Epiphany**
11. The Three Wise Men are **Melchior, Caspar and Balthazar**

12. The Walled City of Lahore Authority was formed in **2012**
13. Wazir Khan Mosque is located in **Lahore**
14. Lahore-Sialkot Motorway is **M11**
15. Maj (retd) Azam Suleman Khan is currently the Ombudsman of **Punjab**
16. America's prestigious military school, West Point, is situated on the banks of **Hudson River**
17. The current Chairman Wapda is **Lt. Gen. (retd) Muzammil Hussain**
18. Sir Don Bradman is regarded as one of the greatest cricketers of **Australia**
19. When Sir Don Bradman retired, his test average was **99.94**
20. Gwadar Ramohan is the second international border crossing point between Iran and Pakistan after **Taftan**
21. The incumbent Chief of the Staff of Pakistan Air Force (PAF) is **Mujahid Anwar Khan**
22. Pakistan's current Chief of the Naval Staff is **Admiral Muhammad Amjad Khan Niazi**
23. The world number one in Badminton is **Kento Momota**

24. Chandka Medical College Hospital is in **Larkana**
25. National Working Women's Day is observed on: **December 22**
26. Lance Naik Muhammad Mehfooz Shaheed (Nishan-e-Haider) embraced martyrdom on: **Dec 17, 1971**
27. Karoonjhar Mountains are situated in: **Tharparkar, Sindh**
28. Al-Jazeera television channel is from **Qatar**
29. The mausoleum of the first emperor Augustus is located in: **Rome**
30. The largest circular tomb in the world is the mausoleum of **Augustus**
31. SVR is an intelligence agency of **Russia**
32. SVR succeeded the First Chief Directorate of the KGB in **1991**
33. The Pakistan Farmers' Day is observed on: **December 18**
34. Gurbanguly Berdimukhamedov is the president of: **Turkmenistan**
35. Passu Glacier is located in: **Hunza Valley**
36. Open Skies Treaty was signed in: **1992**
37. The case related to blowing up of Pan Am Flight



a former chairman of one of China's largest state-controlled asset management firms – China Huarong Asset Management Co. – was sentenced to death for soliciting \$260 million in bribes, corruption and bigamy.

Jan. 06: Kyle Jamieson completed an 11-wicket match haul as New Zealand thrashed Pakistan in the second Test to become the world's top-ranked team.

Jan. 06: Donald Trump's supporters stormed Capitol Hill during a session of Congress held to certify Joe Biden's win.

Jan. 06: Representatives of the Afghan government and the Taliban started second round of negotiations in Qatar that will focus on reduction in violence and a ceasefire.

Jan. 07: Elon Musk, the entrepreneur behind Tesla Inc. and SpaceX, became the richest person on the planet, albeit briefly.

Jan. 07: The US Congress certified that Joe Biden and his running mate Kamala Harris had won the 2020 election.

Jan. 08: Iran's elite Revolutionary Guards unveiled an underground missile base.

Jan. 08: Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, banned import of Covid-19 vaccines from the United States and Britain.

Jan. 09: Twitter permanently suspended President Donald Trump's account.

Jan. 09: Qatar and Saudi Arabia reopened their land border that was shut in June 2017.

Jan. 09: An Indonesian budget airline plane with 62 people onboard crashed into the sea.

Jan. 10: US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced to end restrictions governing official contacts with Taiwan.

Jan. 10: Nationalist politician Sadyr Japarov won a landslide victory in Kyrgyzstan's snap presidential election.

Jan. 11: Joe Biden announced William Burns as his pick to lead the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Jan. 11: Guinness World Records recognised a street in Wick, Scotland, as the shortest in the world – it measures just six feet nine inches – therefore taking the average adult just three steps to conquer.

Jan. 11: Saudi Arabia's crown prince unveiled plans to build a zero-carbon city at NEOM, the first major construction project for the \$500 billion flagship business zone.

Jan. 12: Kuwait's cabinet tendered their resignation only a month after the government was formed.

Jan. 12: Malaysia's king declared a nationwide state of emergency to fight a coronavirus surge, and parliament was suspended.

Jan. 12: The oldest son of Oman's sultan, Dhi Yazan Bin

GK Tidbits

103 over the Scottish town on December 21, 1988, is known as: **Lockerbie bombing**

38. The person convicted in Lockerbie bombing case was: **Abdelbaset Ali Mohmet al-Megrahi**

39. Abdelbaset Ali Mohmet al-Megrahi was a former intelligence official of: **Libya**

40. Pakistani High Commissioner to Malaysia is: **Amna Baloch**

41. Media was founded on January 15, 2001 by the American-British entrepreneur: **Jimmy Wales**

42. The term LASER stands for: **Light Amplification by Stimulated Emission of Radiation**

43. The first transatlantic radio broadcast was made in: **1901**

44. The world's first colour e-book reader was developed by: **Fujitsu**

45. The number of bytes in 4 kilobytes of memory is: **4,096**

46. USB stands for: **Universal Serial Bus**

47. The file extension TIFF stands for: **Tagged Image File Format**

48. In computer science, "DOS" stands for: **Disc Operating System**

49. In computer terminology, SEO means: **Search Engine Optimisation**

50. The file extension MPEG is the abbreviation of: **Moving Picture Expert Group**

51. The social media app that only lets you view pictures and messages for a limited time is: **Snapchat**

52. Created in 1990, the name of the first internet search engine was: **Archie**

53. The electronics company Nintendo was founded in: **1889**

54. Repining is a feature of: **Pinterest**

55. The term CPU stands for: **Central Processing Unit**

56. The British computer scientist who invented the World Wide Web in 1989 was: **Tim Berners-Lee**

57. The device installed in a workstation that allows users to connect to the network is: **Network Interface card (NIC)**

58. The term used for a reasonably detailed sequence of steps designed to solve a problem or perform a task is: **Algorithm**

59. A computer device that has a 'bezel' is: **Monitor**

60. Bezel surrounds and masks the edges of: **Picture tube or LCD screen**

61. The type of memory that stores data only for the time your computer is turned on, but loses the data at a powerbreak is: **Random Access Memory (RAM)**

62. The car company that uses the tag line "The Ultimate Driving Machine" is: **BMW**

63. The initials BMW stand for: **Bavarian Motor Works**

64. The official state car of the Emperor of Japan is: **Toyota Century Royal**

65. The car brand that sells the electric vehicle the Bolt EV is: **Chevrolet**

66. Chevrolet took its name from a French race car driver named: **Louis Chevrolet**

67. The US presidential limousine is called: **The Beast**

68. The 19th-century engineer who devised an internal combustion engine which works without a spark plug was: **Rudolf Diesel**

69. The famous auto-maker responsible for designing the Volkswagen Beetle is: **Ferdinand Porsche**

Haltham, currently minister for culture, sports and the youth, became the first crown prince in the country's history.

Jan. 12: India's Supreme Court suspended new agriculture laws that have sparked huge farmers' protests.

Jan. 13: David Barclay, the secretive British billionaire whose portfolio included The Daily Telegraph newspaper and The Ritz hotel, died aged 86.

Jan. 13: A bipartisan majority of lawmakers in the House of Representatives voted 232:197 to impeach 45th US President, Donald Trump.

Jan. 13: Lisa Montgomery, a convicted killer, was executed in a federal prison in Indiana, becoming the first woman executed in the federal system since 1953.

The US government last executed a female inmate in 1953, when Bonnie Brown Heady of Missouri was put to death for the kidnapping and murder of a young boy in a ransom plot.

Jan. 14: Estonia's pro-business opposition leader Kaja Kallas was nominated to become the Baltic eurozone member's first woman prime minister.

Jan. 14: Afghanistan and Turkmenistan inaugurated new transport, power and communications links.

Jan. 14: Google closed its deal to buy fitness tracking company Fitbit.

Jan. 14: New Zealand captain Sophie Devine hit the fastest century in women's Twenty20 history, taking just 36 balls to reach 100.

Jan. 15: The Asian Development Bank (ADB) appointed Eugene Zhukov the Director General of its Central and West Asia Regional Department.

Jan. 15: Russia withdrew from the Open Skies treaty.

Jan. 15: Five judges at Scotland's highest court of criminal appeal upheld the conviction of the only man found guilty of the 1988 Lockerbie bombing after a posthumous legal challenge.

Jan. 15: The US military cut troop levels in Afghanistan and Iraq to 2,500 each, lowest since the wars began.

Jan. 15: Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte's government resigned over a child benefits scandal.

Jan. 15: The UN Human Rights Council elected Fiji's ambassador as its 2021 president in an unprecedented secret ballot.

Jan. 15: The European Union added recently appointed Syrian Foreign Minister Faisal Mekdad to its sanctions blacklist.

Jan. 15: Nuclear-armed North Korea unveiled a new submarine-launched ballistic missile at a military parade in Pyongyang.

Jan. 15: France's Stephane Peterhansel won the Dakar Rally for the 14th time, 30 years after his initial success.

Jan. 15: US President-elect Joe Biden announced his proposal to pour \$1.9 trillion into a hobbled economy.



GK Tidbits

70. The US President who won a Grammy Award in 2006 for his voice on the audio book "Dreams From My Father" was: **Barack Obama**

71. The US\$ 20 bill contains the picture of: **Andrew Jackson**

72. The 40th US president, also a famous movie star, was: **Ronald Reagan**

73. US president who officially named the President's residence as White House was: **Theodore Roosevelt**

74. The only US president who studied to become a medical doctor was: **William Henry Harrison (9th President)**

75. The Chinese city where the coronavirus emerged is: **Wuhan**

76. The province of China where Wuhan is located is: **Hubei**

77. The first case of Covid-19 was reported in Pakistan on: **26th February 2020**

78. The World Health Organization declared the coronavirus a pandemic on: **March 11, 2020**

79. The US city where George Floyd, 46-year-old African-American man, was killed is: **Minneapolis**

80. The film that won the Best Picture at the Oscars 2020 is: **Parasite**

81. The first private company to launch a rocket into space is: **SpaceX**

82. Argentina's famous soccer player who died on November 25 last year at age 60 was: **Diego Maradona**

83. The hot, liquefied rock that lies underneath the surface of the Earth is called: **Magma**

84. When magma erupts or flows from a volcano onto the Earth's surface, it becomes: **Lava**

85. The point on the Earth's surface that is directly above the hypocenter is called: **Epicenter**

86. The point on earth where an earthquake actually occurs is called: **Epicenter**

87. The border between the North American and the Pacific tectonic plates is: **San Andreas fault**

88. Giant waves that hit the shore and cause coastal flooding and great damage are called: **Tidal waves**

89. Located on the border between the United States and Canada, the largest freshwater lake in the world is: **Lake Superior**

90. Reaching down 6,365 feet (1,940 metres), the

world's deepest freshwater lake is: **Lake Baikal**

91. The longest river in the world (4,145 miles or 6,670 kilometres) is: **The Nile River**

92. The source of the Nile is in Burundi while its mouth is in: **Mediterranean Sea**

93. World's biggest river, the Amazon, is located in: **South America**

94. The world's highest waterfall, Angel Falls, is located in: **Venezuela**

95. The total height of Angel Falls is: **3,212 ft (979 m)**

96. Electromagnetic waves whose wavelengths are longer than about 0.01 metres are called: **Radio waves**

97. A theory that describes the motion and behaviour of matter and energy on microscopic scales is called: **Quantum Mechanics**

98. German physicist who figures prominently in the field of quantum mechanics is: **Max Planck**

99. Noted physicist Ernest Rutherford, who contributed greatly to the understanding of matter, was from: **New Zealand**

100. Albert Einstein published his Special Theory of Relativity in: **1905**

EXAM PACK

MCQs / NATIONAL

1. Renowned film actress Hirdous Begum passed away on _____.
(a) Dec. 16 (b) Dec. 17
(c) Dec. 18 (d) Dec. 19
2. On Dec. 16, the Judicial Commission of Pakistan approved the nomination of Justice Qaiser Rashid Khan as the new chief justice of the _____ High Court.
(a) Islamabad (b) Balochistan
(c) Peshawar (d) Sindh
3. On Dec. 17, Pakistan ranked _____ in Global Slavery Index 2020.
(a) Sixth (b) Eighth
(c) Ninth (d) Tenth
4. The United Nations General Assembly approved a Pakistan-sponsored resolution that reaffirms the right to self-determination for peoples subjected to colonial, foreign and alien occupation on _____.
(a) Dec. 17 (b) Dec. 18
(c) Dec. 19 (d) Dec. 20
5. The current focal person of Punjab Police for coordination with National Commission for Human Rights is _____.
(a) Nayab Haider (b) Umer Sheikh
(c) Tahir Hussain (d) Hasan Saleem
6. On _____, Indian army fired upon a UN vehicle carrying two military observers on a routine monitoring mission along the LoC.
(a) Dec. 17 (b) Dec. 18
(c) Dec. 19 (d) Dec. 20
7. The current Federal Minister for Defence Production is _____.
(a) Pervaiz Khattak (b) Shahryar Afridi
(c) Zubaida Jaleel (d) Babar Awan
8. Gwadar Ramdhan is the _____ border crossing point between Iran and Pakistan.
(a) Second (b) Third
(c) Fourth (d) Fifth
9. The first border crossing point between Iran and Pakistan is _____.
(a) Zahedan (b) Mand
(c) Quetta (d) Taftan
10. On Dec. 20, _____ won their maiden title by defeating SSGC in the final of the National Football Challenge Cup.
(a) PIA (b) Pak Army
- (c) Wapda (d) Punjab Police
11. On Dec. 21, _____ was presented with the Silk Road Friendship Ambassador's award by the Chinese government.
(a) Asim Saleem Bajwa
(b) Javed Afridi
(c) Asad Umar (d) Zulfi Bukhari
12. Javed Afridi is the chairman of PSL franchise _____.
(a) Peshawar Zalmi
(b) Islamabad United
(c) Quetta Gladiators
(d) Multan Sultans
13. The senate seat that fell vacant due to the death of Senator Kalsoom Perveen has been won by _____.
(a) Nusrat Shaheen (b) Rita Kumari
(c) Zahida Khanum (d) Rukhsana Ali
14. The incumbent Chairman of Federal Public Service Commission is _____.
(a) Mir Zubair Mahmood
(b) Capt (R) Zahid Saeed
(c) Fazal Abbas Maken
(d) Maj. Gen (R) Syed Abid Hasan
15. The newly-appointed Chairman FPSC Capt (R) Zahid Saeed took oath of office on _____.
(a) Dec. 20 (b) Dec. 21
(c) Dec. 22 (d) Dec. 23
16. The federal cabinet approved the 6th National Census-2017 on _____.
(a) Dec. 19 (b) Dec. 20
(c) Dec. 21 (d) Dec. 22
17. On Dec. 23, the 15th meeting of Pakistan-Turkey High Level Military Dialogue Group concluded in _____.
(a) Izmir (b) Istanbul
(c) Islamabad (d) Ankara
18. Joint exercise "Shaheen-IX" was conducted between the air forces of Pakistan and _____.
(a) UAE (b) Turkey
(c) China (d) Saudi Arabia
19. On Dec. 24, Prime Minister Imran Khan appointed Kamran Afzal the Federal Secretary for _____.
(a) Railways (b) Finance
(c) Interior (d) Defence
20. On _____, a legendary Urdu poet and critic from India, Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, passed away.
(a) Dec. 25 (b) Dec. 26
(c) Dec. 27 (d) Dec. 28
21. Pakistan Post has been ranked _____ on the Universal Postal Union World Rankings 2020.
(a) 67th (b) 74th
(c) 87th (d) 94th
22. On Dec. 28, _____ Pakistani nurses and midwives were included in 100 Outstanding Women Nurse and Midwife Leaders 2020 list.
(a) Six (b) Eight
(c) Twelve (d) Seventeen
23. On Dec. 29, the Cabinet appointed _____ the regular chairperson of the FBR.
(a) Kamran Fazal (b) Tahira Rubab
(c) M. Javed Ghani (d) Nosheen Javed
24. On Dec. 30, the government removed Mufti Muneeb-ur-Rehman and appointed _____ the new Ruet-e-Hilal Committee chairman.
(a) Dr Raghbir Hussain Naeemi
(b) Dr Mufti Ali Asghar
(c) Moulana Fazal-ur-Rahim
(d) Maulana Abdul Khabir Azad
25. On Dec. 30, Babar Sattar and Tariq Mehmood Jahangiri took oath of office as additional judges of _____ High Court.
(a) Peshawar (b) Balochistan
(c) Islamabad (d) Sindh
26. On _____, the Pakistan High Commission made a payment of \$28.706 million (Rs4.59 billion) on behalf of NAB to the assets recovery firm Broadsheet LLC.
(a) Dec. 28 (b) Dec. 29
(c) Dec. 30 (d) Dec. 31
27. The current president of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry is _____.
(a) Khawaja Shazaib Akram
(b) Mian Nasser Hyatt Magoo
(c) Mian Tariq Misbah
(d) Ali J. Hamdani
28. Pakistan and India signed the



Agreement on Prohibition of Attacks against Nuclear Installations and Facilities on _____.

- (a) Dec. 31, 1988 (b) Dec. 31, 1989
(c) Dec. 31, 1991 (d) Dec. 31, 1992

29. Pakistan and India regularly exchange lists of their nuclear installations every year on _____.

- (a) Jan. 01 (b) Jan. 03
(c) Jan. 04 (d) Jan. 05

30. The Consular Access Agreement between Pakistan and India was signed on _____.

- (a) 21 May 2007 (b) 21 May 2008
(c) 21 May 2009 (d) 21 May 2010

31. Pakistan and India exchange lists of prisoners in each other's custody _____ a year.

- (a) Once (c) Twice
(c) Three (d) Four times

32. On Jan. 03, _____ became the only Pakistani organization to be honoured at the first edition of Asia-Pacific Women's Empowerment Principles Award hosted by UN Women and funded by the EU.

- (a) Blue Veins (b) Shirkat Gah
(c) Women's Action Forum
(d) Kashf Foundation

33. Pakistan's first specialized microfinance organization, the Kashf Foundation, was founded in 1996 by _____.

- (a) Dr Yaseen Zafar (b) Zameer Sajid
(c) Fazal-e-Jamil (d) Roshaneh Zafar

34. On _____, eleven coal miners belonging to the Shia Hazara community were executed by unidentified attackers in the Mach coal field area.

- (a) Jan. 01 (b) Jan. 02
(c) Jan. 03 (d) Jan. 04

35. On Jan. 04, Justice Ayesha A. Malik of the _____ High Court declared the virginity tests of rape survivors as "illegal and unconstitutional".

- (a) Peshawar (b) Lahore
(c) Islamabad (d) Sindh

36. On Jan. 07, Pakistan conducted a successful test flight of indigenously-developed _____ missile that is capable of delivering a conventional warhead up to a range of 140 kilometres.

- (a) Fatah-1 (b) Hatf IX

- (c) Buraq III (d) Ababil II

37. Renowned poet, writer and intellectual, Naseer Turabi, who passed away on Jan. 10, was a son of noted religious scholar _____.

- (a) Mohsin Turabi (b) Aqeel Turabi
(c) Salman Turabi (d) Rasheed Turabi

38. PMIK launched Pakistan's first instant payment system - Raast - on _____.

- (a) Jan. 08 (b) Jan. 09
(c) Jan. 10 (d) Jan. 11

39. On Jan. 13, Pakistan, Turkey and _____ agreed to strengthen cooperation in diverse fields and people-to-people ties, as well as continue to support each other on all issues involving the national interests of the three countries.

- (a) Azerbaijan (b) Iran
(c) Afghanistan (d) Kazakhstan

40. On Jan. 15, the federal government appointed Mohammad Tahir Rai the new IGP of _____.

- (a) KP (b) Balochistan
(c) Punjab (d) Sindh

INTERNATIONAL

1. On Dec. 16, the Olympic Council of Asia announced that Doha will host the 2030 Asian Games while _____ will host of the 2034 edition.

- (a) Riyadh (b) Abu Dhabi
(c) Kuwait City (d) Dubai

2. On Dec. 16, _____ Svetlana Tikhanovskaya received the Sakharov Prize, the EU's top rights prize.

- (a) Belgium's (b) Belarus's
(c) Poland's (d) Sweden's

3. On Dec. 18, _____ UFC fighter Khabib Nurmagomedov was voted BBC Sports Personality's "World Sport Star of the Year."

- (a) Serbian (b) Uzbek
(c) Russian (d) Kazakh

4. On Dec. 18, Robert Lewandowski of _____ was named the Best FIFA Men's Player 2020.

- (a) Belarus (b) Belgium
(c) Ukraine (d) Poland

5. On Dec. 19, India crashed to their lowest ever score of 36, against _____.



- (a) New Zealand (b) England
(c) South Africa (d) Australia

6. On Dec. 22, Britain's media regulator Ofcom imposed a £20,000 financial penalty on _____ TV in UK.

- (a) Times Now (b) Republic
(c) Republic Bharat (d) Zee News

7. Ofcom imposed penalty because the channel had aired hate speech against the people of Pakistan in a show conducted by _____.

- (a) Arnab Goswami (b) Ravish Kumar
(c) Rajat Sharma (d) Aroon Purie

8. Alexei Navalny is a vocal opposition politician in _____.

- (a) Belgium (b) Russia
(c) France (d) England

9. Carrier rocket, the Long March-8, is of _____.

- (a) China (b) India
(c) Australia (d) Pakistan

10. On Dec. 22, US lawmakers backed legislation granting _____ legal immunity for past militant attacks.

- (a) Iraq (b) Sudan
(c) Somalia (d) Afghanistan

11. On Dec. 23, _____ Prime Minister Ion Chicu announced his resignation.

- (a) Spanish (b) Polish
(c) Moldovan (d) Norwegian

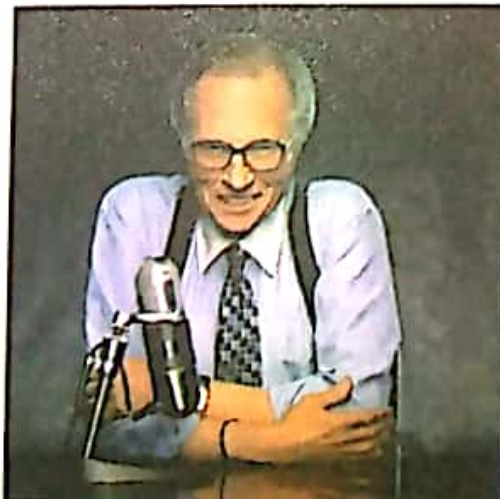
12. On _____, the UK and the EU agreed over a deal, covering trade worth £668 billion.

- (a) Dec. 21 (b) Dec. 22
(c) Dec. 23 (d) Dec. 24

13. On _____, the EU countries embarked on a vaccination campaign to defeat Covid-19.

- (a) Dec. 24 (b) Dec. 25
(c) Dec. 26 (d) Dec. 27

14. On Dec. 28, President Donald Trump signed a massive ----- stimulus bill, in a boost for millions of Americans and businesses battered by the coronavirus pandemic.
(a) \$700 billion (b) \$800 billion
(c) \$900 billion (d) \$950 billion
15. On Dec. 29, famous for his avant-garde style, legendary ----- designer, Pierre Cardin, died.
(a) Swiss (b) French
(c) American (d) British
16. The capital of New Zealand is -----
(a) Wellington (b) Auckland
(c) Christchurch (d) Manukau City
17. On -----, EU leaders signed their post-Brexit trade deal with Britain.
(a) Dec. 28 (b) Dec. 29
(d) Dec. 30 (d) Dec. 31
18. On Dec. 30, ----- sumo wrestler Dzhambulat Khatokhov, who entered the Guinness World Records as the world's heaviest child in 2003, died.
(a) Japanese (b) Russian
(c) Serbian (d) Ukrainian
19. ----- airport and port is the EU's newest external border.
(a) Dublin's (b) Vaalima's
(c) Gibraltar's (d) Imtara's
20. The ----- Overseas Territory of Gibraltar is self-governing in all areas except defence and foreign policy.
(a) German (b) French
(c) Italian (d) British
21. On -----, Britain and the European Union officially parted their ways after Brexit deal came into force.
(a) Dec. 28 (b) Dec. 29
(c) Dec. 30 (d) Dec. 31
22. On -----, The World Health Organisation (WHO) approved the Pfizer/BioNTech vaccine for emergency use.
(a) Dec. 30 (b) Dec. 31
(c) Jan. 01 (d) Jan. 02
23. On Jan. 01, ----- president Abdelmadjid Tebboune signed the country's new constitution into law.
(a) Somalia's (b) Algeria's
(c) Iraq's (d) Sudan's
24. On Jan. 02, ----- abolished the death penalty, making permanent a nearly two-decade freeze on capital punishment in the authoritarian Central Asian country.
(a) Kazakhstan (b) Turkmenistan
(c) Azerbaijan (d) Uzbekistan
25. Puerto Rico is a self-governing commonwealth associated with -----
(a) USA (b) UK
(c) Canada (d) Mexico
26. On Jan. 04, a ----- district judge, Vanessa Baraltser, blocked WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange's extradition to the United States.
(a) Norwegian (b) British
(c) Argentinean (d) Swedish
27. The new US Congress took office on ----- and elected Nancy Pelosi as speaker of the US House of Representatives.
(a) Jan. 02 (b) Jan. 04
(c) Jan. 05 (d) Jan. 06
28. On Jan. 04, the US Congress passed a bill named after Nobel laureate -----
(a) Barack Obama (b) Dr Abdus salam
(c) Marie Curie (d) Malala Yousafzai
29. The Gulf Cooperation Council Summit 2020 was held in the Saudi city of -----
(a) Makkah (b) Riyadh
(c) Qurayyah (d) Al-Ula
30. On -----, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Bahrain and Egypt announced to restore diplomatic ties with Qatar.
(a) Jan. 02 (b) Jan. 04
(c) Jan. 05 (d) Jan. 06
31. ----- is the world's first country where electric cars account for more than half the new registrations.
(a) Sweden (b) Norway
(c) Switzerland (d) Austria
32. On -----, Donald Trump's supporters stormed Capitol Hill during a session of Congress held to certify Joe Biden's win.
(a) Jan. 06 (b) Jan. 07
(c) Jan. 08 (d) Jan. 09
33. On Jan. 10, US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced to end restrictions governing official contacts with -----
(a) Taiwan (b) Afghanistan
(c) Ethiopia (d) Sudan
34. On Jan. 10, nationalist politician Sadyr Japarov won a landslide victory in ----- snap presidential election.
(a) Ukraine's (b) Kyrgyzstan's
(c) Armenia's (d) Kazakhstan's
35. The current Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is -----
(a) Gina Haspel (b) David S. Cohen
(c) William Burns (d) James Steinberg
36. On Jan. 12, ----- king declared a nationwide state of emergency to fight a coronavirus surge, and parliament was suspended.
(a) Kuwait's (b) Jordan's
(c) Qatar's (d) Malaysia's
37. On -----, lawmakers in the House of Representatives voted 232:197 to impeach 45th US President, Donald Trump.
(a) Jan. 10 (b) Jan. 11
(c) Jan. 12 (d) Jan. 13
38. On Jan. 14, ----- and Turkmenistan inaugurated new transport, power and communications links.
(a) Russia (b) Iran
(c) Afghanistan (d) Turkey
39. On Jan. 15, the ----- appointed Eugene Zhukov the Director General of its Central and West Asia Regional Department.
(a) IMF (b) ADB
(c) UNDP (d) World Bank
40. On Jan. 15, ----- Stephane Peterhansel won the Dakar Rally for the 14th time.
(a) Norway's (b) Senegal's
(c) Italy's (d) France's





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